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VON

BERNHARD TEN BRINK, ERNST MARTIN,
ERICH SCHMIDT.

LXXI.

JUDITH. STUDIES IN METRE, LANGUAGE AND STYLE, WITH A VIEW TO DETERMINING
THE DATE OF THE OLDENGLISH FRAGMENT AND THE HOME OF ITS AUTHOR.

STRASSBURG.
KARL J. TRÜBNER.
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JUDITH

STUDIES IN METRE, LANGUAGE AND STYLE,

WITH A VIEW

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BY

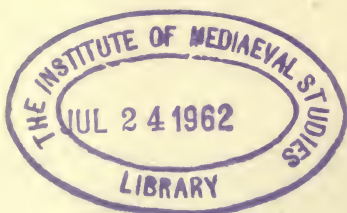
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OF UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON.

STRASSBURG.

KARL J. TRÜBNER.

1892.



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TO THE MEMORY
OF MY HONOURED TEACHER
PROF. BERNHARD TEN BRINK.

PREFACE.

The following treatise presents some of the results of a series of studies in O. E. poetry, made with special reference to the epic fragment Judith. Its length may, at first sight, seem rather out of proportion to that of the poem with which it mainly deals, but it will be seen that there is much that applies to the whole range of O. E. poetry, with which it would have been quite useless to deal shortly.

Not the least among the difficulties to be met in preparing it for the press has been the finding suitable equivalents for terms and subjects that have not till now been dealt with in English.

The work was begun and practically completed under the direction of the late Prof. Dr. Bernhard ten Brink. To his inspiring teaching, to his lofty ideal and unsparing criticism are due whatever merits it may possess. The final revision of this treatise was one of the smaller pieces of work he proposed for himself in the early part of this year, but death robbed us of him. It must therefore appear without the finishing touch of his master-hand. Care has been taken to revise and reconsider points that did not commend themselves to him at the time the work was presented to the Philosophical Faculty of the University of

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Strassburg, so that as a whole I can give it to those who are interested in its subject with the stamp of his approval upon it.

To my good friend Prof. Dr. Barack for his continued kindness and help, both privately and in his public capacity of Chief Librarian at the University of Strassburg, I would give my heartiest thanks.

For careful revision of the proof-sheets and many valuable suggestions I have to thank my old friends and fellow-students Prof. H. Frank Heath of Bedford College, London and Mr. G. F. Hill of Merton College, Oxford.

June 1892.

T. G. F.

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INTRODUCTION.

Scanty as the remains of Old English poetry are, yet scantier still is the information concerning them that contemporary and immediately following ages have left us. Of the authors, their lives and works, as well as of the exact times in which they worked and flourished, we know next to nothing. With two or three names of poets and some few notions of the subjects of their singing, historians of the literature of the Old English period have had to conjure. These generalities can have no better illustration than is afforded by the critical history of the epic fragment 'Judith'. To deal carefully with the various questions that arise from a study of this fragment is the object of the pages that follow; it will be best introduced by a review of the most important contributions to the subject by previous scholars and critics.

The 'Judith' is preserved in the Cotton Manuscript (Vitellius A xv British Museum) and follows the Beowulf, being written by the same hand as the latter part of the MS. of that poem. Earlier criticism, of which George Stephens is the chief exponent, guided entirely by the long lines which were then thought to be especially Cædmonian, attributes Judith, together with a large number of the other poems we possess, to Cædmon. Hammerich again, solely on the strength of the somewhat vague information given by Bede in his Hist. Eccl., ascribes Judith to Cædmon. The greater finish of the poem, when compared especially with the Genesis, he urges, is simply due to the subject matter. With the destruction of

the Junian theory in regard to Cædmon, which gave all the poems in the manuscript Junius (Bod. Lib. Oxon) to the poet of that name, Hammerich's naturally goes too, but the connection of this poem with the other biblical ones is preserved by Wülker's classification of all under the heading "Cædmon und sein Kreis".

Grein mentions Judith in connection with the poems of the Junian Manuscript, but only connects it with them as being 'ein anderes alttestamentliches Epos' and goes no further than to praise its beauty.

Thus then the earliest critics of our fragment have placed it almost at the beginning of the Old English literary period; for Caedmon died in c. 680. When from Caedmon we extend our limits to "Caedmon und sein Kreis", the limit of time would be difficult to fix; but "Christ and Satan", probably the latest of the poems edited by Junius, is hardly later than the end of the ninth, or the beginning of the tenth century.¹ In this connection, it is necessary to quote ten Brink's² view: „Das grosse, eigentlich productive Zeitalter der altenglischen, geistlichen Dichtung dürfte durch die Jahre 650—800 oder 825 zu begrenzen sein. Die Mehrzahl der betrachteten Denkmäler sind vermutlich im achten oder im Anfang des folgenden Jahrhunderts entstanden, so die Exodus, der Daniel, die Judith“. If Ebert, the only one of the later critics of our fragment who places it in Caedmonian times, had read this paragraph with the proofs which ten Brink brings forward in the pages of his *Gesch. der engl. Litt.* immediately following it, he would have seen that with his estimation³ of Judith it would be just as reasonable to

¹ cf. ten Brink, *Geschichte der eng. Litt.* Bd. I p. 109 ff. (Groschopp has hardly proved his point in attributing the work to Cædmon, cf. pp. 19 und 20 in his dissertation „Crist und Satan“).

² cf. ten Brink, *Gesch. der engl. Litt.* Bd. I p. 64.

³ (*Allgem. Geschichte d. Litt. des Mittelalt.* Bd. III p. 26) Ebert's words are: „Dies ist ohne Zweifel das gelungenste der uns aus dieser Periode (die letzten Decennien des siebenten Jahrhunderts p. 11) erhaltenen angelsächsischen Gedichte, welche alttestamentliche Stoffe behandeln“. And in a foot note to this paragraph he adds „Wie über-

place it in the eighth or ninth century as in the seventh. For his view he gives no real ground and seems by twice mentioning it (pp. 24, 26) to lay great stress on the „alttestamentliche Stoffe“.

Among other recent workers at Old English who have considered Judith and its place in the history of Literature we must mention Groth¹ and Kluge².

Each of them has applied what may well be described as a mechanical test. Groth, whose object is to show to what time the 'Exodus' is to be ascribed, applies to Judith two out of the five tests which Lichtenheld³ formulates in his treatise „Das schwache Adjektiv im Angelsächsischen“. According to Groth's use of the article test (i. e. the number of times the article is used) Judith must chronologically be placed with the Battle of Maldon or rather later; for as we shall see the total usage is greater in Judith. The second test applied by Groth to Judith, but only mentioned in a foot-note (p. 38), viz. the number of times the weak adjective is found with the article prefixed, gives, he urges, remarkable results. In this case he does not compare it with other poems, and accordingly omits the number of occurrences of weak adj. + subst. or weak adj. without article⁴. We shall apply all Lichtenheld's tests in our sections on the use of pronominal forms and the Instrumental case; so that here it will be sufficient to say that no such partial test can with any certainty determine the date of a poem, nor is it fair to take a portion only of Lichtenheld's results. Kluge counts the number of times in which rime occurs in Judith, and finds

haupt“, which words seem to serve him as a general means of rejecting Kluge's view based on the number of rimes.

¹ E. J. Groth, *Composition und Alter der altengl. (angelsächs.) Exodus*. Diss. Göttingen 1883.

² F. Kluge, *Zur Geschichte des Reimes im Altgermanischen*. P. u. B. Beiträge Bd. IX p. 422.

³ Lichtenheld, *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum*. Bd. XVI p. 325 ff.

⁴ Groth (p. 38) does not apply the Instrumental test to Judith, but confines himself therein to the Battle of Maldon, and Exodus.

that in this respect also the result given by Groth is endorsed, and gives as a chronological sequence, according to the rime test: — Beow-Andr-Byrhtn-Jud. — indicating (p. 445) that Judith at any rate was written before 1036. Thus, the poem of which our fragment is a part would have to be placed between the year 991 (the earliest possible date for the Byrhtnoð or Battle of Maldon) and 1036 (the date of the chronicle poem on the death of prince Ælfred). To this theory of Kluge's we shall revert in the section dealing with rime. The second-quarter of the eleventh century then is the latest date given to Judith; a similar limit was set for it by Dietrich¹, but with the inclination to put it earlier². In his researches³ into the history of the life and writings of Ælfric, Dietrich quotes the passage from the work „De veteri et de novo Testamento“ in which the book of Judith is said to be „on Englisc on ðre wisan gesett“ and identifies the English version referred to with the epos 'Judith'. Dietrich bases his argument on the fact that in other cases Ælfric says explicitly „ic âwende (or onwende) on Englisc“. Assman⁴, on the other hand, draws particular attention to the words „on ðre wisan“, pointing out that the manner of our poem does not accord with this statement, and further that he has been unable to trace any influence of the 'epos' Judith in the Homily dealing with the same story, which he wishes to show was written by Ælfric.

A comparison of the Homily with our poem shows that

¹ Eduard (Franz) Dietrich, *Niederners Zeitschrift für historische Theologie*. Jahrgänge 1855, 56.

² Dietrich's argument is not clear unless we conjecture a misprint viz. „10 Jahrhundert“ for „11. Jahrhundert“: he believes Ælfric wrote his Preface to the Old and New Testament at the end of the 10th century, or just before beginning of the 11th, and argues, the Epic Judith was known to Ælfric, therefore Judith was written at all events before the 10th century. This hardly follows: we must read 11th century. For similar mistakes or misprints in Dietrich's treatise cf. Assmann, *Über Esther*. Diss. p. 15.

³ N. Z. f. hist. Theol. Jahrgang 1856 p. 179.

⁴ Assmann, Abt Ælfric's angelsächsische Homilie über das Buch Judith. *Anglia* Bd. X p. 76.

there are similarities in word and phrase usage; these are few in number it is true, but still, for the most part, both words and phrases are such as rarely occur in what is left to us of Old English Literature. I am therefore inclined to believe our poem was known to Ælfric, although the words „on ðre wisan“ seem to exclude the possibility of his actually referring to it. Between the dates assigned to our poem by its earlier and later critics there is then a difference of 300 years. Its latest editor and critic — Albert Cook ¹ — takes the mean way, and would fix the date of composition as „in or about the year 856“. His theory is (Intro. p. XXIX): „The poem of Judith was composed, in or about the year 856, in gratitude for the deliverance of Wessex from the fury of the heathen Northmen, and dedicated, at once as epinikion and epithalamion, to the adopted daughter of England, the pride, the hope, the darling of the nation“. This „adopted daughter“ is the great granddaughter of Charlemagne, daughter of Charles the Bald, she whom Æthelwulf brought home as his second queen, in the year 856, on his return from Rome. Her name was Judith. In the year in which she came to England, Prof. Cook tells us, and for eight years following the Northmen ceased to harry England. The Northmen, then, are the Assyrians, the English the Hebrews and Judith their deliverer. Such is the occasion of our poem according to Prof. Cook. The ten pages (Intro. XXIV—XXXIV) of interesting historical facts mixed with ingenious conjecture bring little to support his theory. When we hear that the „subject of Judith was a popular one among the poets of that reign, most probably because the Danes . . . were supposed to be prefigured by the Assyrians“ we expect some further proof than that afforded by a single fragment of a Latin poem² of which the date is not with any certainty known, whose narrative, as preserved to us, does not ex-

¹ Judith, an Old English Epic Fragment. Edited with Introduction etc. by Albert S. Cook 2nd Edition. Boston, 1889.

² cf. Ed. du Mériel, Poésies populaires latines antérieures au XII^e siècle. Paris 1843 p. 184.

tend further than the sending of Achior bound to Bitulia and thus makes no mention of Judith. The quotation from Asser¹ (Intro. XXIX) hardly testifies to great enthusiasm on the part of the nation in regard to Judith, for we learn: „and he placed Judith . . . on the regal throne, without any controversy or enmity from his nobles, even to the end of his life, contrary to the perverse custom of that nation“. This is surely little whereon to base the epithets „the pride, the hope, the darling of the nation“. Prof. Cook goes further and names Swithun, Bishop of Winchester, as the author of the „Epithalamion“. The above are, as I understand him, the most important facts that support his theory.

If however we look a little closer, we shall be inclined to think that the identity of name has been allowed to warp Prof. Cook's judgment rather more than such a minutia should. In the first place the Saxon Chronicle² tells us distinctly that it was in the year 855, that the Danes were in England, in Sheppey, and that in this year Æthelwulf went to Rome, where he dwelt twelve months and then went homewards: and then Karl, the king of the Franks, gave him his daughter for queen, and after that he came to his people and they were glad at it. From this entry it is clear that more than a year elapsed between the king's departure and his return³: so that more than a year must have intervened between the wintering of the Danes in Sheppey and Judith's coming to England. Not till 860 does the Chronicle tell us of more ravages, and then a small inroad was made

¹ The questionable authenticity of Asser's work is not taken into account.

² The Parker MS reads as follows:

„And þy ilcan geære [855] ferde tō Rome mid micelre weorpnese and þær wæs XII mōnaþ wuniende and þā him hām weard fōr and him þā Carl Franena cyning his dohtor geaf him to cuene and æfter þām to his lēodum cuōm and hīe þæs ge fægene wārun“.

The Laud MS has in respect to his marriage and return, only:

„and he fēng tō Karles dohter Franena cining þā he hāmweard wæs. and ge sund hām cōm.“

³ The marriage did not take place till Oct. 1st 856.

at Winchester: but in 865 and 866 the Danes came again. It is, then, hardly correct to say that the Danes withdrew in the year of Judith's coming. Further the enthusiasm, for which Cook calls the Chronicle in evidence, is but sparsely, if at all expressed in the words „and hê pæs gefægene wêrun“: moreover, if I am not very much mistaken, 'pæs' refers to the return home of the king. There is then no expression of joy at the marriage. On the contrary, the king was met with opposition and rebellion from his son Æthelbald, supported by the warrior bishop Ealchstan, who had done the king signal service at the battle of the Parret. Noticeable moreover is the conclusion to which the historian Lappenberg comes; after an examination of the various sources, he writes (p. 296)¹: „Viel Missfallen erregte es bei seinem Volke, dass er seiner Gemahlin ein Diadem aufsetzte und ihr den Namen der Königin ertheilte, welcher Titel durch Eadburge, Brithries Wittwe, bei jenem sehr verhasst geworden war. Nach so manchen Handlungen, durch welche die Rechte seiner ältern Kinder und der Mutter sehr beeinträchtigt wurden, darf es nicht überraschen, wenn Æthelwulf in seiner Heimat nicht eine willkommene Aufnahme fand“. Add to all this the a priori objection to a possible comparison of the new queen with the Hebrew Judith, (I mean the fact that she was scarcely thirteen years old), and sufficient has been said to show the improbability of Cook's suggestion. At all events to name her „the pride, the hope, the darling of the nation“ is absurd, and the only possibility left is to suppose that some great admirer, contrary to the general feeling of the nation, wrote this epithalamion for a child of twelve.

The suggestion that Judith was written at the time of the Danish invasions, is one coloured with strong probabilities and was made by Thwaites², the first editor of the poem, in his address to the Reader: „Judith fragmentum, scriptum quo tempore Dani apud nos grassarentur“. The thought that

¹ cf. also Reinhold Pauli, König Ælfred, und seine Stelle in der Gesch. Englands. Berlin, 1851, p. 75 ff.

² Ed. Thwaites, Heptateuchus etc. Anglo-Saxonice, Historiæ Judith fragmentum; Dano-Saxonice, MDCXCVIII.

the deeds of a woman brought the old Hebrew story to the poet's mind and inspired him to sing it, is not unlikely, if, as I think possible, a heroine can be found who will suit other indications of date, and about whom there are plain historic facts preserved. To this point our considerations will lead us in the last section. In all this it must be remembered that Prof. Cook's is but a theory, a hypothesis, and while showing the improbability of his I shall venture to suggest another. Great stress I do not lay upon it, because the poet may have been prompted by nothing more than a desire to glorify God.

Whether the story was brought to our poet's recollection by a contemporary heroine or not, of this we may be sure, that he used it because he saw in it not only material for a good poem, but a means whereby he could glorify God through his handmaid, for he calls her „Scyppendes mægð“ (l. 78) and ‘pēodnes mægð’ (l. 165), and all through emphasises that what she accomplished was „þurh Godes fultum“ (186) or „swā hyre God ūðe“ (123).

Let us now turn to Prof. Cook's principal theory, the last which we shall have to examine. The results of the metrical and stylistic investigations in the following pages lead to almost exactly similar conclusions, so it will be sufficient to shortly indicate them together with the considerations that support them.

First, the poem is Cynewulfian rather than Cædmonian and is „either by Cynewulf or by some one of his disciples or successors“. Proof of this is afforded by verbal correspondences in Judith and the Cynewulf poems and also by similarity of description in the battle scenes in Judith and Elene.

Secondly. The older Genesis (Gen. A) and the Exodus were undoubtedly known to the author: the later Genesis (Gen. B) shows an almost total lack of correspondences; this „might indicate that the latter was of subsequent composition, though this hypothesis is not absolutely necessary“.

Thirdly. Judith is to be dated „not earlier than Cynewulf, and not later than the year 937“. In or soon after 937 the poem on the Battle of Brunanburh was written and

partial identity of lines indicates that one served as a model for the other. Which was the model? This Prof. Cook determines by urging that the religious spirit of Judith belongs to an age previous to 937; assuming then that the poems „reflect the spirit of the epochs in which they were reproduced“ Judith must be the earlier of the two. The spirit of a poem is, together with the manner of representation, of course a good criterion for its date; but to glorify God, at once the simplest and the highest religious desire, would be the motive of a pious man of any age, and we should expect it in any author, who was of the clerical profession. In the Homily on Judith, Ælfric has the same thought (l. 407)¹: — „On hyre (Judith) wæs gefilled pæs hælendas cwyde“, and (l. 422) „þām folce atēowde, hū hyre fylste god“.

So much is enough to state and criticise, as far as is here in place, the answers that have hitherto been given to the questions connected with Judith.

In the pages that follow I have endeavoured to make the best use of what has been written on Judith and O. E. Literature generally. After so careful and valuable an edition as Prof. Cook's it was inevitable that some of his points should be repeated; in borrowing from him or from others endeavour has been made to duly acknowledge it at the foot of the page. Most of my notes on Metre were made before Prof. Cook's book came to hand, but I have given the parallel passages in his Introduction in the majority of cases.

Our poem has been criticised from an æsthetic point of view by Editors and Historians of Literature; all are agreed that the poetic art shown therein is of no mean order².

It is in fact a dramatic Epic. Epic in the lingering and minute description of smaller events, in the heroic figure

¹ Of course the Homily contains other moral lessons.

² cf. ten Brink, (Gesch. der Eng. Litt. Bd. I p. 59): „Sämtliche geistliche Epiker jener Zeit überragt an Kunst der Komposition der Dichter der Judith“. cf. Benj. Thorpe (Anal. Anglosax. p. X): „This fragment leads us to form a very high idea of the poetic powers of our forefathers“. Cook collects the „Testimonies“ on pp. LXXV—LXXVIII of his introduction.

of Judith watched over, guarded and helped by the mighty power of God; Drama, fragment though it be, in the balancing and apparently motived completeness of its story, approaching, yet distantly, tragedy as it fills us with anxious sympathy for the safety and success of the woman through whom the Assyrians are put to flight.

The question concerning the Home of the author of Judith has not till now received full attention; but as we shall see there are a few indications in the poem, and they will be carefully enumerated. Sweet, giving as his reasons the combination of the highest dramatic and constructive power with the utmost brilliancy of language and metre, places Judith at the culminating point of the Old Northumbrian Literature.

Cook merely says — „the mixture of dialectic forms seems to indicate that a Northern original passed through one or more hands“ — and at the end of his book he gives a careful version of Judith in the Dialect of the Northumbrian Gospels.

In the following treatise the Judith will be studied under the three main heads of Metric, Language, Diction and Style.

To begin with, Metre will be dealt with from the purely formal point of view; thus, alliteration in its various relations, on the lines of Rieger's treatise, will be investigated and the position of our poem, relatively to the older and later poems¹, made clear.

Following that, comes an investigation of End-rime, its relations to the subject-matter, and a testing of Kluge's rime results.

Next the expanded lines, their form as compared with others of similar form, especially those in the Rood-poem, their force or purpose, are specially investigated: thus again we are driven to consider the relation of form to matter, or in other words to consider style.

¹ Throughout, the relation between Judith and the Battle of Maldon is closely considered. In speaking of Christ and Satan, I adopt ten Brink's division into three parts.

In this connection the manner of indicating verse-ending and verse-pause, both in expanded and normal verses is discussed.

With Sievers' thorough investigation of the metre of *Beowulf*, and the like work for *Judith* by Luick, it seemed practical for the sake of metrical comparisons to use Sievers' terminology and system, which, though mechanical and in no way representing the conception that the O. E. poets must have had of their metrical forms, yet as a rule gives a correct idea of the prosody of each line. I should have preferred to follow ten Brink's system, if this had been already in print.

At the end of the part dealing with Metric, textual emendations from a metrical and stylistic standpoint are suggested.

In the second part, traces of dialectical forms are collected and discussed, with the view of solving the difficult question as to the Home of our Poet.

After that, a short statement of the relations of the use of 'a' und 'o' before nasals is given.

Lichtenheld's tests, relating to the use of pronominal forms and of the instrumental case, are then thoroughly tested, and a closer determination of the use and non-use of the article, as well as of those of the demonstrative and possessive adjective-pronouns is attempted.

The third part treats of Synonyms, Compounds, Sentence-form and Figures of Speech. The first two lead so clearly to similarities with *Cynewulf*, that the purely stylistical part is necessarily large owing to further comparison with his works.

In the appendices, matters that could not well find a place in the main text, are dealt with; thus, the details necessary for showing that our poet drew his story from the Vulgate and not from the Septuagint, to which reference is made in our conclusions, are to be found in the first appendix. Lastly the results are brought together, and the possible connection of the poem with historical events is fully dealt with, in the attempt to answer the following questions:

(1). What are the limits of time that comparison with other poems and other results set for our poem?

(2). Are there indications of the Home of our Poet?

(3). Are there any historical events, or historical personages, that could reasonably have occasioned our poem?

(4). What is the relation of the story in the poem to that in the Vulgate? Is the story in our fragment a complete one?

(5). What is the position of our poet, as compared with other O. E. poets, in point of style?

It has seemed to me better to work out the various points under their respective heads, and then draw the issues together, than to attempt at once an answer to the direct points of inquiry.

I. M E T R I C.

Of all the monuments of Old English verse handed down to us, the *Beowulf* and the poems certainly Cynewulf's preserve the alliterative long line in its purest and best form. Dissensions among the English petty states, together with the consequent inroads of the Northmen, destroyed the culture and learning which had flourished chiefly in the Anglian kingdoms. With the culture, the art of song decayed and towards the end of the tenth century, we find the forcible long-lined alliterative poetry, on the one hand, being broken up by the introduction of the leonine rime, and, on the other, being transformed, as in many of the writings of Ælfric, into a sort of rhythmical and alliterative prose. The best period of Old-English poetry ends in the early decades of the ninth century, and the poets of after years, for the most part in the midst of strife and unrest, endeavour, but with a continually increasing disregard of alliterative principles, to keep the national song alive.

These alliterative principles have been carefully formulated for us by Rieger¹, so that here we shall only briefly indicate them in order to make the relation of our poem to them clear.

¹ Max Rieger, *Die alt- und angel-sächsische Verskunst*. Zacher's *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* Bd. VII. It is also published separately.

A. ALLITERATION.

1. DISTRIBUTION AND NUMBER OF RIME-LETTERS.

By the first of the two most general rules¹ for the alliterative long line, the chief letter, i. e. the one rime-letter of the second half-line, must occur as 'initial' of the first chief-stressed syllable in that half-line. This rule, observed exactly throughout the *Beowulf*, is only once disregarded in the three *Cynewulfian* poems (El. 580), and that in a line almost certainly corrupt, but four times in our poem:

Judith 200. cēnra tō campe, stōpon cynerōfe.

„ 212. hyrnednebbā . Stōpon heaðorincas.

„ 243. cȳðan eodon, wrehton cumbolwigan.

That these lines are rightly scanned with the chief stress on „stōpon“, „wrehton“, is confirmed by the freedom (p. 20), which our poet allows himself in the second half-verse with regard to the subordination of verb to substantive².

The fourth example (l. 273) „ēades and ellendæda. Hogedon þā eorlas“ is really an example of like kind, but the easiness of transposition has suggested to Rieger and Sweet the reading „þā eorlas hogedon“. This however gives a half-line of a form³ seldom, if ever, found. From this, the chief rule of the alliterative poetry, no one poem shows many deviations: — the *Later Genesis* two (370, 513): the *Fallen Angels*⁴ five (57, 152, 227, 313, 331), of these the first disregards the rule that in the combination 'adj + subst' the adjective bears the alliteration, the other four are almost certainly

¹ cf. Rieger pp. 6 and 7 (Separat Abdruck).

² cf. also Jud. 227. Stōpon styrynmōde.

Beow. 325. Setton sāmēde.

El. 35. fōr fyrda mæst.

„ 27. fōr folca gedryht.

³ To use Sievers' notation, it would belong to typus D, its form being $\times | \angle \times | \angle \cup \times$. *Beowulf* gives no exact parallel to this form.

⁴ The 2nd part of Christ and Satan one l. 464. This line may be read in two ways, but whichever one is adopted the rule is transgressed; if 's' is 'rime-letter' the verb 'sædon' alliterates in preference to the subs. 'witegan'.

corrupt readings. In the first part of Salomo there is one line (16) with chief letter as initial of the second chief-stressed syllable and in the second part three (262, 340, 357): in l. 357 the word-accentuation is also incorrect. More than any of the above is the author of the Battle of Maldon found wanting: in ll. 45, 75, 288, 315 he puts the chief letter in the wrong place and in the first three cases violates the laws of accentuation¹.

By the first general rule the number of rime-letters in the second half-line is limited to one; by the second, the first half-line is free to have either two rime-letters or one. Occasionally lines are found which have two rime-letters in the second half and only one in the first. In other cases this deviation is probably due to the carelessness of the scribe, for the order can be inverted without harm to metre or meaning. Our poem affords one example:

Jud. 149 of þære ginnan byrig hire tōgēanes gān². Here both half lines are of the same form, for 'byrig' is invariably monosyllabic³.

Of double alliteration in both half-lines Judith affords, according to Rieger⁴, only one certain example:

279. his goldgīfan gæstes gēsne.

but to this we must certainly add the following:

291. wurpon hyra wæpen of dūne, gewitan him werig-ferhðe.

312. cwicera to cýððe; cirdon cynerôfe⁵.

Of the next variation to the general rules, viz. the use of 2 different rime-letters in one long-line, Judith gives numerous examples, generally in the crossed form a b a b, as indeed is

¹ cf. Rieger p. 7.

² Rieger, Sweet (Reader) and Cook print the line inverted.

³ cf. Sievers, P. u. B. Beiträge Bd. X p. 478.

⁴ cf. Rieger p. 9.

⁵ Luick, P. u. B. Bd. XI p. 476 reads the line thus:

cwicera to cýððe; cirdon cynerôfe

Further his remark „Doppel-Alliteration in diesem Halbvers ist in der Judith unerhört“ is hardly correct.

to be expected, for the first alliterative syllable of both half-lines is more strongly accented than the second¹.

Judith 83: *Ic ðê frymða God, and frôfre Gæst.*

„ 85: *Miltse þinre mē þearfendre*

„ 112: *gêsne beæftan, gæst ellor hwearf*

„ 137 *þære wlitegan byrig weallas blīcan*

„ 150: *and hī ofostlice in forlætan*

„ 155: *cyninga wuldor, þæt gecyðed weard*

„ 165: *ongēan ðā þeodnes mægð þûsend mælum*

„ 173: *þæs herewæðan heafod onwriðan*

„ 215: *elðeodigra edwit þoledon*

„ 235: *cwicera manna þe hīe ofercuman mihton*

„ 253: *mægen Ebrêa. Mynton ealle*

„ 311: *lāðan cynnes: l̥thwôn becôm*

„ 332: *eal þæt þā deodguman þrymme geēodon*

The last mentioned is of the unusual form b a a b.

Thus in Judith there are 13 cases of twofold alliteration, a remarkably large number when compared with 68 in Beowulf, 15 in Christ, and with eight (24, 63, 68, 189, 255, 256, 318, 320) in the Battle of Maldon; the short poem on Battle of Brunnanburh (73 lines) shows 5 examples (14, 33, 48, 50) of this elaborate, somewhat artificial form which in proportion to length is more than in Judith. It is noticeable that all these lines are emphatic: ll. 83, 85 stand at the commencement of a passage, l. 137 tells us of the arrival of Judith and her maid at the city of Bethulia and l. 150 of the haste of the citizens to let them in. In seven out of the thirteen usages (85, 137, 155, 235, 311: 165, 253) the emphasis is strengthened by the use of the secondary rime-letter as chief-letter in the following or previous line. A very skilful use of the secondary letter in ll. 85, 137, 156, 311 is noticeable. In these lines portions of sentences belonging very closely together are separated by the verse ending, but bound together by the use of the secondary letter of one line as chief-letter in the immediately following line: by this same means (235, 236) two sections are connected. A similar

¹ cf. Cook Introd. LXV and Rieger p. 5.

device is used by the poet in other lines, and for the same purpose: the initial letter of the last chief-stressed, but not alliterating, syllable of one line occurs as rime-letter in the next following line. Thus, in ll. 2, 39, 67, 90, 273, 289, 292, 298, the last words of a sentence forming a half-line are joined to what precedes, and in ll. 14, 15 two sentencees are joined. In other cases (29, 42, 72, 294) closely related portions of sentences are connected by this device. Occasionally, as in *Elene*, *Juliana*, and *Andreas*¹, the poet seems, by the same means, to compensate for the non-occurrence of three rime-letters. In the use of three rime-letters, *Judith* stands on the same level as *Beowulf*, each showing a percentage of 50². The freedom to use two rime-letters, or only one, in the first half-line is one that a poet would avail himself of more and more. This we see evidenced in *Cynewulf's* poems. In such a poem as the *Riming Song*, where form was undoubtedly of greater importance to the author than matter, we find 97 per cent of the lines have three rime-letters. In later poems, the use of three rime-letters gets less and less frequent. The *Battles of Brunanburh* and *Maldon* have three rime-letters in 47 and 44 per cent. of their lines respectively, while the *Psalms* have three in 20 per cent. only³. The first two parts of *Christ* and *Satan* show but slight difference in this respect. In the *Fallen Angels*,

¹ cf. A. Fritzsche, *Das ags. Ged. Andreas u. Cynewulf. Anglia*, Bd. II p. 468 etc.

² Out of 349 lines in *Judith*, 175 (more than 50%) have three rime-letters; of these 64 are expanded lines. Fritzsche gives the percentage in *Beowulf* as 50: in *Christ*, 55: in *Jul.*, 48³/₇: in *El.*, 48: in the *Riddles* 50¹/₂: in *An.* 52¹/₅: in the *Vision of the Cross* 60. The larger number of these are expanded lines.

³ Fritzsche says of his investigations dealing with the use of three rime-letters: „Es beweisen demnach diese Untersuchungen nur das eine, dass die Verse mit 3 Stäben mehr und mehr überhand nehmen“. Up to a certain point this is true. The poets, who lived immediately after the best age of O. E. poetry, probably endeavoured to write correctly, as far as form was concerned; but to those of later times, such as the authors of the *Battle of Maldon*, and the *Chronicle* poems, the old rules were in great part unknown, and the number of lines with three rime-letters is in consequence smaller.

47 per cent of the lines have three rime-letters; on the other hand, in the Descent into Hell and Resurrection only 40 per cent.

Judith, then, in respect to distribution and number of rime-letters, differs considerably from the better and earlier manner, and approximates to the inferior and later: in some particulars, there is an over-carefulness in form, which, although for the most part, motived by the subject-matter, produces a heavy effect, not noticeable in the best lines of Cynewulf.

2. ALLITERATION-ITS RELATION TO WORDS IN KIND AND PLACE.

Unlike the authors of the fallen Angels¹, and the Battle of Maldon², the author of Judith, in a combination of two or three nouns, regularly places the one with the rime-letter first. Throughout Beowulf, and the Cynewulf poems, the cardinal numbers are treated as adjectives, and, when they precede their substantives, always alliterate. This is the case with 'ân', even when it approaches in meaning the modern indefinite 'an' or 'a'³.

In Judith and in the second part of Salomo we find variety. Thus in Judith 325 („*mægða mærost, ânes mônðes fyrst*“), 'ânes', though preceding, does not alliterate, but in lines 64, 95, where 'ânre', 'ânra' are clearly numerical, they alliterate. The usage in Salomo is similar. In ll. 246, 254 non-alliterating indefinite forms occur, in ll. 363, 385, 391, 404 alliterating numerical forms. In the Battle of Maldon both forms alliterate in ll. 117, 262; the latter approaches the indefinite in meaning but is separated from its substantive by verb and verse-ending. The chronicle poems give no example. The Metra of Boethius⁴ and the Psalms indicate that the numeral 'an' was distinguished from the indefinite, for the former alliterates, but the latter does not.

In the use of the indefinite adj. 'eal', the author of Judith avails himself of the freedom to alliterate, or not, when

¹ cf. Christ and Satan ll. 7, 57, 213, 340.

² cf. B. of Maldon ll. 80, 183, 242, 266. In ll. 242 und 266 the second element of a compound alliterates and the first not.

³ cf. Gen. ll. 880, 1478, 2227 etc. Dan. l. 174. El. 417. An. ll. 1557, 1649.

⁴ cf. Metra 26²⁵, 30³⁹ (Num.): 10³⁸, 16¹² (Indef.). Psalms 101²¹, 108¹³ (Num.): 81⁷ (Indef.).

it precedes its noun. In the first half-line (10^a, 332^a) it invariably alliterates¹, but in the second the use is various (8^b, 16, 81^b; 28^b, 253^b).

In reading *Elene*², one notices that 'eal' seldom has any part in the alliteration. This seems to be the prevailing custom in the older poems, but in the *Battle of Maldon*³, with one exception (l. 174), 'eal' is treated as an ordinary adjective. and, when preceding its substantive, alliterates. In the chronicle poems, it regularly alliterates (cf. *Eadgar* 6: *Eadweard* 31). In both parts of *Christ and Satan* and of *Salomo and Saturn*, the cases of alliteration and non-alliteration are almost equal. The similar licence, that allowed such adjectives as 'manig', 'micele', 'feala', to stand before their substantives without alliterating, is one that the best poets seldom make use of⁴, and, when 'manig' is used absolutely, 'm' is invariably⁵ the rime-letter of the line.

When a substantive, or verbal noun occurs in the same half line with a finite verb, the verb is subordinated to it but can of course, in the first half line, alliterate with the substantive or verbal noun as the case may be.

This rule is observed without exception in *Judith*. Cook quotes 9^a „girwan up swæsendo“ as a violation of it, but 'girwan' is an Infinitive, in the Acc. and Inf. construction dependent on 'Gefrægn', and therefore, since it stands first, alliterates.

In the second half-line, the best poets allowed themselves freedom. and our poet did the same, but to a somewhat greater extent⁶. The following instances are noticeable:

¹ This is contrary to the usual custom: the cases in the first hemistich where 'eal' alliterates are rare in the certainly older poems: cf. *Dan.* l. 360, *Azar.* l. 76. Cf. ten Brink, — Zupitza, *Cynewulfs Elene* (Haupt Bd. XXIII Anzeiger p. 59).

² In *Elene* 'eal' alliterates in the first half line in ll. 731, 1101, 1118, 1236, 1285, but in all cases the immediately following substantive has an initial vowel, so that 'eal' is not preferred to its substantive by such alliteration.

³ cf. ll. 63, 196, 203, 207, 216, 231, 233, 238, 256, 304, 314, 320.

⁴ In *Elene* the only example of 'feala' not alliterating is 912: of 'manag' not alliterating, when preceding, there is no example.

⁵ cf. *Beowulf* 349, 857, 1023, 1598 etc. *Christ and Satan* 583. *El.* 501, 970 etc. ⁶ cf. Cook p. LXVIII.

1. *twēode gifena*
 183. *ȝcan wolde*; *ac him ne ūde* God
 204. *on ðæt dægred sylf*; *dynedan scildas*,
 207. *wælgifre fugel*: *wistan bēgen*
 208. *þæt him ðā þeodguman þohton tilian*
 211. *salowigpāda sang hildeleōð*
 255. *in ðām wlitegan træfe wæron ætsomne*
 260. *wið ða hālgan mægð hæfde* geworden.

Of these ll. 183, 204, 207 are rhetorically justifiable, but l. 208, where the Infinitive is subordinated to the verb, is not. Much less justifiable is the alliteration of a copulative verb (255) in preference to an adverb, and of an auxiliary (260) in preference to its participle.

In l. 29^b 'drencte mid wīne', l. 44^b 'reſte on ſymbel' l. 72^b 'læddon to bedde', ll. 209^b and 292^b 'flēah on lāst', the last two words form an adverbial phrase, and so account for the subordination of the substantives¹.

Thus there are 13 lines in which the poet transgressed the law; of these, three seem rhetorically justifiable. If we add to these the four cases (p. 14), in which verbs bear the chief stress, but do not alliterate, we get a total of 17 lines transgressing the laws of accentuation, four of which, as we have seen, also transgress those of alliteration.²

In the Battle of Maldon, the following examples of verb-stressing are noticeable: in l. 7^a, the auxiliary verb 'let' alliterates in the presence of the subst. 'handon' in the same half-line; in l. 127^b the verb 'stihte' alliterates in preference to *Byrhtnōð*. This is however rhetorically justifiable as is the alliteration of 'hogode' in l. 128^b. In l. 242^b, where, as already pointed out, the second part of a compound alliterates, the subordination of verb to substantive is not adhered to by the alliteration „*ābreode his angin*“.

¹ cf. ll. 26 and 27 where adverb follows verb.

² In ll. 26, 27, 223, 262, a finite verb alliterates in preference to the following adverb. As the first of two finite verbs in the half-line, the verbs in ll. 23, 25, 297, 326 alliterate. In ll. 215, 253 a finite verb alliterates on the second and first rime-letters respectively, in two-fold alliteration. Cf. Kluge P. u. B. Beiträge Bd. IX p. 448.

In two cases, the author of *Judith* alliterates an adverb following its verb:

132^b. *Eodon dā gegnum þanonne*

250^b. *hogedon áninga*.

In the treatment of adverbs, the most remarkable usage is the alliteration and accentuation of two having demonstrative pronominal stems:

118^b. *þæt hē ðonan môte*¹.

129^b. *þyder on lædde*.

Other adverbs with pronominal stems are never found bearing alliteration and chief stress; 'ðær-inne' (50) is significant. In other poems, we find variety in the use of 'ðonan' and 'ðyder', which is worth noting here, as unobserved by Rieger.

In *Beowulf*² 'ðonan' rarely (123, 691) alliterates, although occurring before its verb, and in other poems the only cases of alliteration, I have noticed, are Christ and Satan l. 722 and *Elene* l. 348³. On the other hand 'þider' more generally alliterates; in *Beowulf* always (379, 2971, 3086), also in Christ and Satan (302, 632)⁴. If we except the adverbs of place and time 'ær' and 'nú', other adverbs alliterate regularly, when they precede the verbs, that they modify.

The alliteration of pronouns in *Judith* is also noticeable. In l. 51^b 'hyne' has the chief rime-letter, so in l. 85^b 'mê' and in l. 66^b 'ðysse': in the following lines possessive pronouns have the chief stress, l. 90^b 'mīnra', l. 198^b 'mīne', l. 91^b 'þīnre' (its substantive does not occur till the following line)⁵, and in l. 85^a 'þīnre' alliterates, but only on the secondary rime-letter in twofold alliteration, and in l. 130^a 'hit' is the first word alliterating. Further 'sum' (275), 'nanne' (233) and 'æghwyle' (50, 166) have the chief stress. Like examples are found in almost all poems, but hardly in such numbers. The *Battle of Maldon* supplies an almost equally largely number; thus in l. 318 'mê' and 'mīnum', in l. 178 'þīn', in l. 234 'ure', 'æghwyle' and

¹ cf. l. 132^b above.

² cf. ll. 224, 520, 844, 853.

³ Cases of non-alliteration are: Christ and Satan 327, 635: *Gen.* 446, 493: *Salomo* 416 etc.

⁴ But cf. *Dan.* 228, 526. ⁵ cf. *Beowulf* 2742^b, 2743^a.

'ôperne', in l. 224 'mîn', in l. 70, the indefinite pronouns, 'ênig', 'ôprum', are all accentuated. 'Sylfra' has the chief-stress in l. 38, as often elsewhere.

The poet of Judith consistently accentuates the prefix 'un' (65, 76, 102, 180, 228, 284, 318), thus using the original accent. In the Battle of Maldon¹, as in the Cynewulf poems there is variety, but in the majority of cases 'un' is accentuated. In Beowulf², it seems, there are only² two (1756, 2000) lines in which 'un' is certainly unaccentuated. Other prefixes are not accentuated.

At the end of this section, our result again is that Judith is not entirely at one with the older poems; where freedom was known to the old poets, our poet uses even greater freedom. The superiority to the Battle of Maldon is again clear, if we think only of the violations in that poem, of the rule concerning the accentuation of groups of nouns. As from an æsthetic point of view, so again from a purely formal one, our fragment is superior to those preserved wholly or in part under the titles of Christ and Satan.

The Chronicle poems are in most respects formally correct, but, if we except the Battle of Brunanburh, they are spiritless, poor productions. They all show a remarkably large number of word and phrase correspondences with other poems, so that they are rather compilations than original productions. Their authors were certainly monks and used the older poems for models.

Before closing our consideration of alliteration, some remarks on its Quality will not be out of place.

3. ALLITERATION — ITS QUALITY.

That any vowel sound may alliterate with any vowel sound, or in other words spiritus lenis with spiritus lenis: that a consonant in any combination may alliterate with the same consonant in any combination, if the combinations 'sp',

¹ cf. ll. 51, 206, 256, 308. In ll. 79, 152 the prefixes are certainly unaccented.

² cf. Rieger p. 18. Both of these lines belong to later portions of the Beowulf. Cf. ten Brink, *Beowulf, Quellen und Forschungen*, Heft 62, pp. 86, 115.

'st', 'sc' be excepted: these are the well-known laws for the quality of alliteration.

The combination 'sp' is not found in Judith. In ll. 25, 223, 227 'st' is the rime-combination; in the second of these 'str' alliterates with 'st + vowel', otherwise 'st + vowel' with 'st + vowel' ¹. L. 55 reads „*Snûde ða snoteran idese: êdon ða stercedferhðe*:² thus 'sn' alliterates with 'st', reminding us of the line in the Chronicle³ (A. D. 942), in which „*Snotinga*“ and „*Standford*“ are the stressed words. This is the more remarkable, when we note that in other cases 'sn' only alliterates with 'sn' (125, 199) and 'sl' with 'sl' (247)⁴: in four lines 'sw' (80, 106, 240, 322) alliterates only with 'sw', but otherwise with 's + vowel'⁵.

The Battle of Maldon affords one example of incorrect alliteration in 'st', viz 271. „*æfre embe stunde he sealde sume wunde*“, where 'st' alliterates with 's + vowel'⁶. In l. 29 'sn' alliterates with 's + vowel'.

In dealing with 'sc' as with 'c' and 'g', the questions and theories that have arisen out of Verner's law have to be taken into consideration. Paul⁷ has, with almost complete certainty, shown that, there were no Mediae, but only voiced spirants in the primitive Germanic languages. These voiced spirants were shifted variously in North- and South-germanic languages, and in Old-English⁸ the entire shifting to Mediae

¹ cf. Cook lxvii. So B. of Maldon l. 68 and other poems.

² Cook classes the line under S³, and says nothing about the irregularity. The MS reads *ste . . . | ferhðe*. Ettmüller (*Scôpas and Bôceras*) reads „*snelferhðe*“.

³ cf. Rieger 17.

⁴ Neither of these niceties of alliteration is to be observed in other poems: in *Elene* 'sn' occurs l. 313 as rime-combination, but otherwise 'sn' alliterates with s + vowel. These combinations are not found in B. of Maldon.

⁵ cf. 88, 89, 124. In B. of Maldon all 's' combinations alliterate only with their likes, 'sw' alliterates with 'sw' except in l. 282.

⁶ Rieger und Kluge take the line as an example of rime, without alliteration.

⁷ P. u. B. Beiträge Bd. I, p. 146 ff.

⁸ ten Brink *Anglia* Bd. I, p. 513.

took place only in the case of dentals, while in that of labials, it took place only initially and internally, and that when the 'stop' sound as in 'hebban' was doubled. The gutturals do not seem to have shifted at all, and ten Brink forcibly urges, that, because 'g' never signified a 'stop', the only way to represent the double Media was by combining the signs for tenuis and voiced spirant as in 'secgan'. Thus then, the guttural sounds known in the primitive German language, were a voiced spirant 'g', a smooth guttural 'k' and an unvoiced spirant 'h'. These Germanic sounds 'k' and 'g', became palatal sounds (ċ, ġ = y' = j) before all vowels which were 'front' before mutation set in, but remained, before vowels, which were 'back' at the same period¹.

That the 'c' in the combination 'sc' was a palatal sound is evidenced by the almost regular insertion, in the later texts², of 'e' before the 'back' vowels 'a' 'o' 'u', and further by the forms found in Middle and Modern English.³ Sweet ascribes this to the influence of the forward sound 's'.

Judith tends to show the truth of this: in ll. 78⁴, 193, 230, 305, the sound of 'sc' is clearly palatal, as it is followed in every case by a front vowel: in l. 79 'scûrum' and 'sceâðe' are the alliterating words. In Andreas (512) we find the word written 'sceôr': this together with the forms 'schour, shour'⁵, in Mid. E. and 'shower' in Mod. E. points, to a palatal sound, at all events towards the end of the O. E. period. In the Battle of Maldon⁶ also, all 'sc' sounds are palatal. On the other hand 'c', when used as rime-letter in Judith⁷, is almost invariably guttural, and = c² = k. The 'y' in 'cyning'

¹ cf. Sweet, *Hist. of Eng. Sounds* pp. 143, 147: ten Brink, *Anglia* Bd. I, p. 512.

² In the Epinal glossary, Vespasian Psalter, and early W. S. texts the 'e' is not found: — cf. Sweet, *Hist. of Eng. Sounds* p. 144.

³ With the one exception of Mod. E. *scathe* (O. E. *sceaðan*) all words, that appear in Grein with initial 'sc', and are preserved in Mod. E., have the initial sound 'sh'.

⁴ The 'y' in 'Scyppend' is a late form of 'ie', i-umlaut of 'ea' (*sceapan*).

⁵ cf. Chaucer, *Cant. Tales* (passim).

⁶ cf. ll. 40, 56, 98, 136.

⁷ cf. ll. 134, 155, 200, 235, 243, 311, 312, 324, 333.

is i-umlaut of 'u', cf. O.-Sax. *kuning*: so also 'y' in 'eyded' (155) is from original 'u'. This stable 'y' is a back vowel. In l. 270 the pronunciation of 'cirman' is somewhat uncertain, but the metathesised form 'erimn', which is found in the Anglo-Saxon Glosses to Aldhelm's „*De Virginitate*“¹, seems to point to a guttural sound. Further, O. H. G. 'karmian' points to an original back sound in Germanic. The Mid. E. forms 'bi-chermet' (Owl and Nightingale 279) and 'chirme' (305), on the other hand, stand in evidence for the 'tsh' or palatal sound. That many words found in early texts written with palatalising 'e' or 'i' after 'c' were later written, and spoken without it, the later MSS. and Mid. E. forms prove with certainty. That there was a tendency to return to back 'e' is shown in such words as 'cāld', 'sēcan', 'pencan' etc.², and in the later poems the alliteration of palatal with guttural 'c' occurs very rarely. Thus, in the *Battle of Maldon*, the word 'ceorl' (256) has no part in the alliteration; in l. 76 'cēolan' seems to have a palatal sound, and the only other doubtful word is 'cellod'³ (283), which probably contains the same stem as the Mod. E. 'keeled'. In the *Chronicle* poems, with the exception of 'cild' (*Eadgar* 31), 'c' when alliterating is guttural⁴.

That the author of *Judith* was not careful to distinguish between 'back' and 'front g' (g, ġ), is at once clear from the fact that the 'I' sound in *Iûdith*⁵ (prob. = ġ) alliterates now with the one, now with the other, and once (l. 132) with both.

Excluding the nine lines, in which the word 'Iûdith' occurs, we find fourteen⁶ consistently rimed with 'back g', and in the remaining six⁷ there is confusion of one sound with the other.

¹ cf. Haupt, *Zeitschrift*, Bd. XI, p. 513.

² cf. Sweet, *Hist. of Eng. Sounds* p. 143.

³ cf. 'cellod bord' with 'escu votis' (*Huon de Bordeaux* l. 962). The parallelism was pointed out to me by Prof. W. Paton Ker.

⁴ 'cēas' (*Edg.* 22) is of course unaccented.

⁵ with g: — 123, 13, 40, 256, 334; with ġ: — 342, 144, 168. Cf. the allit. of *Jûdêa* and *Jûdêas* in *Elene*.

⁶ 32, 224, 306, 329: 62, 83, 112, 140, 148, 171, 186, 219, 271, 308.

⁷ 2, 9, 22, 149, 238, 279.

It will be noticed that 'ġ' is in no case rime-letter.

Much stricter in this respect is the poet of the Battle of Maldon, for, two lines being excepted, g alliterates regularly with g, and ġ with ġ. In ll. 84 and 274 'ġ' is rime-letter: in 18 lines¹ 'g' is rime letter. The exceptional lines are

100. „þær ongēan gramum gearowe stōdon“.

265. „Him sê ġýsel ongan geornlice fylstan“.

In the Chronicle poems we find a like exactness but even there not without exceptions. In the Battle of Brunanburh there are two lines like those in the Battle of Maldon having three rime-letters, two of which are like 'g's' and the other unlike.

18. *gārūm āgeted, guma norðerna*

44. *geonge āt ġūde; ġylpan ne porfte.*

It will be noticed, that in each case, the first rime-letters in the first and second half-lines, alliterate exactly. It is of course possible to regard the others as not alliterating, though accented. That the sounds must have been clearly distinguished towards the end of the Old English period is shown by their exact distinction in Middle English.

The sound 'ġ' becomes *ȝ* (*j* sound) in Mid. E. and alliterates only with itself or the spiritus lenis.

Numerically, the lines with rime-letter 'g' only are more numerous in Judith than in Elenc, Christ and Satan, or Salomo and Saturn: in all these poems the larger proportion of the lines shows mixture of 'g' and 'ġ'. As our poet confuses the two sounds in every case in which the 'ġ' sound is used, it is difficult to say, with certainty, whether the correctness in the other lines is not accidental. On the other hand the difficulty of alliterating only 'ġ's' with 'ġ's' is felt by the author of the Battle of Maldon, who in the vast majority of cases alliterates correctly. The comparative rarity of words with initial 'ġ' makes the difficulty, and a glance at Piers Plowman tells us that the words with the corresponding Mid. E. sound rarely alliterated. The formally correct Rime Song alliterates

¹ 13, 32, 35, 46, 61, 67, 87, 94, 109, 138, 170, 176, 187, 237, 262, 285, 287, 315.

'g' with 'g' in 4 lines¹, 'ġ' with 'ġ' in two², and in l. 36 the two together.

In the alliteration of 'h'³, which had in O. E. become a mere breath, our poet shows a like tendency to correctness: in the majority of cases 'h + vowel' alliterates with 'h + vowel', but in l. 251 'h + vowel' with 'hl'⁴, and in ll. 94, 290 'h + vowel' with 'hr'. In other cases the combinations 'hl', 'hr', 'hw' alliterate only with like combinations⁵. The weakening of 'h' was so great that in some cases it entirely disappeared, or, when written, does not seem to have been sounded: thus in l. 249 'weas' and 'hwearfum', in l. 314 *rēocende*, 'hræw', 'rûm' are the alliterating words. In the *Battle of Maldon* 'hringas' (161) alliterates with 'rēaf' and 'gerēnod', and (145) 'hringlocan' with 'heortan'. The Latin H (Greek, 'spiritus asper')⁶ is usually mute in English, so in our poem, although the MS. gives the name 'Holofernus' uniformly with 'H', the alliteration requires it to be read with 'spiritus lenis'.

In quality of alliteration, as in its other uses, our poem shows differences from the prevailing usage in the older poems; these differences tend in the direction of what in the Mid. E. period became the rule, but are not so definite as those found in the later poems.

Of grammatical alliteration, there are three examples in *Judith*, of a very different type to that used by *Cynewulf*.

In *Cynewulf* they are almost invariably of the form 'cyninga cining' and have a rhetorical purpose, but in *Judith* they are probably used without conscious purpose.

191. *leôhtne leôman*.

196. *gedêmed to deâde and gē dôm âgon*.

In the *Battle of Maldon* this form is used much more frequently⁷, and with no further purpose than to maintain the

¹ ll. 3, 49, 66, 71.

² ll. 11, 25.

³ cf. Sweet, *Hist. of Eng. Sounds*, pp. 134, 135.

⁴ cf. *B. of Maldon* 74, 251, 318.

⁵ hl³. 23, 205: hr³. 282: hw². 214. cf. Cook p. lxxv.

⁶ cf. Elene, Hierusalem, Gerasalem or Jerusalem.

⁷ cf. ll. 4, 27, 39, 49, 63, 65, 72, 75, 121, 127, 137, 151, 155, 235, 302.

alliteration. Thus in ll. 27, 49 substantives and verbs of the same stem are used, and in l. 39 two forms of the same substantive. The repetition of the same words used in rapid enumeration is totally wanting in *Judith*, but is found once in the *Battle of Maldon* (270. hwilon hê on bord scêat, hwilon beorn tædde). Other examples are given by Rieger p. 17; the most numerous are found in the *Metra*.

Our poet then, while deviating here and there from the strict rules for alliteration, adheres on the whole to the best usage; in beauty of form, he is superior to the author of the *Battle of Maldon*.

With this we close our consideration of Alliteration, or Initial-rime, and proceed to examine the use of End-rime in comparison with other poems.

B. END-RIME.

Kluge¹ has pointed out that End-rime, of various kinds, is to be found in the earliest specimens of O. E. poetry, and finding that the number of rimes is greater in the later than in the earlier poems, he makes a large or small number of rimes a criterion for determining the time relations of one poem to another. In *Beowulf* the number of Suffix-rimes is very considerable: there are also at least 16 examples of pure stem-syllable rime, while the lines in which a stem-syllable rimes with an inflectional or suffixal syllable, having a secondary stress, are also numerous. In *Andreas* the number of rimes, and notably of stem-syllable rimes, is still greater, and a similar increase shows itself in the *Battle of Maldon* and *Judith*, till in *Layamon's Brut* about a third part of the whole number of lines are connected by rime. Kluge is thus led to the following order: *Beow.-Andr.-Byrhtn.-Jud.-Lay*. In deciding this order, the difference between Suffix and Stem-syllable rime has been to a certain extent considered, but we must further ask whether the rime serves any definite purpose, or

¹ Zur Geschichte des Reimes, P. und B. Beiträge Bd. IX, p. 422.

purposes, and this we can determine by observing whether it is consistently used to produce certain effects. This last will be a much more certain test of date than merely counting the examples.

Turning to the poem on the Death of Alfred in the Chronicle (ann. 1036), we see at once that the use of rime compensates for the loss of alliteration. Alliteration is found in none of the riming lines, but only in the non-riming lines (6, 9, 13, 15, 20). In Layamon too, rime frequently serves the same purpose, moreover, in many cases, the short sentences in which the Brut is written are connected by means of rime, and periods are closed and opened with rime.

In the Battle of Maldon three uses of rime are observable:

a) A riming couplet serves to close or to commence an episode: frequently when two following episodes are closely connected in subject the last line of the first rimes with the first of the second.

[Exx. are: 24^b, 25^b, 26^b: 67^b, 68^b: 82^b, 83^b: 89^b, 90^b: 98^b, 99^b, 100^b: 254^b, 255^b, 256^b: 305^b, 306^b, 307^b.]

b) The riming of the two halves of a long line serves almost invariably to mark events following one another in quick succession: occasionally, the riming of the halves of a long line closes an episode.

[Exx. are: 2^b, 3^{ab}: 4^{ab}: 18^{ab}: 19^{ab}: 42^{ab}: 47^{ab}: 130^b, 131^b: 309^{ab}.]

c) Riming of words in the same half line serves to mark the noise or rapid movement of the things spoken of. [Exx. are: 15^a: 107^a: 110^b: 126^b.]

The majority of the rimes in the Battle of Maldon are suffix-rimes; there are comparatively few stem-syllable and feminine rimes¹, thus making the consistent use of the suffix-rimes the more remarkable.

¹ Stem-syllable: 15^a bord, swurd: 47^{ab} ord, swurd: 107^a earn, georn: 110^b bord, ord (cf. Elene 1187): 126^b wæl, feol: [9^{ab} mihte, cniht: 132^b eorle ceorle are examples of riming of stems, but not of suffixes]. Feminine-rime: -ode 42^{ab}: 309^{ab}: -unde 271^{ab}. Assonances: 18^{ab} rædde, tæhte: 130^b, 131^b ahôf, stôp: 211^{ab} ewäd, spræc.

In Judith feminine rimes are more numerous, and purely suffix-rimes are less numerous than in the Battle of Maldon.

The following classification of the rimes in Judith will make our principles of rime-selection clear¹:

I. Masculine rimes:

a) Perfect (i. e. the vowels and consonants following are identical, and the syllables have either both a chief or both a secondary stress):

113^{ab} næs, wæs — is the only stem-syllable rime. The others are all suffix rimes: Exx. are: 4^{ab}: 85^{ab}: 163^b, 165^b: 201^{ab}: 238^{ab}: 285^a, 286^a: 299^b, 300^a etc.

b) Imperfect: (1). Consonances: 21^a earn-georn², 318^a bord-swyrd³.

(11). Difference of stress and of ending: 97^b, 98^a. môde, ġenîwôd: 294. læg, gesæged: 300^{ab}. gedysod, god.

II. Feminine rimes:

a) Perfect: 2^{ab} grunde, funde: 23^b hlynede, dynede: 29^{ab} sîne, wîne: 36^{ab} bedræste, gehlæste: 63^{ab} neosan, forlēosan: 115^{ab} gewunden, gebunden: 123^{ab} ġûðe, ûðe: 305^{ab} scæron, wæron: 349^b, 350^a strêamas, drêamas.

b) Imperfect: 20^{ab} rondwîgende, wende: 60^{ab} hyrde, ġestýrde: 231^{ab} ġecoste, eornoste: 271^{ab} poliende, ende.

These rimes in Judith are not used with the consistency shown in the Battle of Maldon. In fact it was impossible to combine the characteristic O. E. use of apposition, in which nouns and verbs of like cases and tenses follow one another, with a formal use, at all events, of suffix-rime. Here and there the use of rime gives force to the meaning: thus in l. 23 it indicates the laughter and revelry of Holofernes⁴. Similarly

¹ cf. Kluge, P. u. B. Beiträge Bd. IX, 444 p. and Cook p. LXIX.

² cf. Battle of Maldon, 107^a.

³ cf. Battle of Maldon 15^a.

⁴ cf. Elene (description of noise before battle): ll. 50, 51. þonne rand dynede, campwudu clynede.

intensification is expressed by the heaping of words in the same cases and tenses; ll. 163^b, 164: „wornum and hēapum, drēatum and drymmum þrunon and urnon; l. 115 „wyrnum bewunden, wítum gebunden“. Quickly following actions are marked by a similar device: l. 304 „linde héowon, scildburh scæron“, l. 326^b „wágon and læddon“. At the close of a period, or, as the connecting link between two closely related clauses, rime is much less seldom used than in the *Battle of Maldon* it is impossible to regard the use of it in the majority of cases as purposed or conscious. On the other hand, the riming of ‘stréamas’ and ‘dréamas’ (ll. 349^b, 350^a) is noticeable for its effectiveness (cf. p. 39): by this means a pause is made, and then follow the four words „þurh his sylfes miltse“ containing the teaching of the whole poem. A somewhat similar use of rime is to be found in l. 36: „bedreste — gehlæste“; on this follows a hemistich closing the sentence and at the same time repeating the thought of the immediately preceding lines with the words ‘hringum gehrodene’.

The two examples of sectional rime common to *Judith* and the *Battle of Maldon* afford a further contrast in usage. „Bord and brád swurd“ (B. of M. 15^a) — these words close the account of Eadric’s actions, while the line and a half following tell us why he so acted. The same words (*Jud.* 318^a) occur in the middle of a sentence, and the rime has no effect.

So again, *Battle of Maldon* 107^a: „earn æses georn“ makes a pause in the account of the various noises, and the closing words „wæs on eorþan cyrm“ sum up the whole. In *Judith* (210^a) „earn ætes georn“, the rime again has no particular meaning.

Thus then, although here and there our poet uses rime in full consciousness of its force, he does not observe the same consistency as the author of the *Battle of Maldon*.

These considerations, together with some already expressed, and others yet to follow, indicate that *Judith* is earlier than the *Battle of Maldon*.

The appended ¹ table, showing the number of rimes in 350 lines of each of the poems investigated, tells us that the mere number of rimes must not be too closely relied upon in determining relative dates.

Juliana and Christ would by that test be the two earliest extant English poems. Christ, in reality, is one of the earliest poems that shows a conscious artistic use of rime, as may be seen by reference to the effective antithetical rimes in l. 591—595, which Kluge explains as „ein Experiment, wodurch er sich eine strenge Reimtechnik anzueignen hoffte“.

At the same time our table shows us a marked difference between Judith and the Battle of Maldon on the one hand, and the Beowulf, Cædmonian and Cynewulfian poems on the other. All this tends to show that the use of rime grew gradually. It is possible that it was helped and influenced in its progress by the Celtic popular songs, snatches of which must have become familiar to the Germanic invaders. The Celtic metres were, in their turn, largely influenced by the Latin and especially by those made use of in the Latin Christian hymns².

1	Suffix-rimes.	Stem-syllable rimes.	Final consonant of stem-syllable + suffix rimes.	Total.
Beowulf (200—550) .	62	1 (rimes with in- flect. syll.)	3	66
Genesis (1—235, 852 —966) . .	70	4	1	75
Exodus (1—350) . .	59	—	2	61
Daniel (1—280, 690— 760) . . .	74	7	3	84
Christ and Satan (1—350). .	54	8	3	65
Christ (1—350) . . .	50	6	2	58
Elene (1—350) . . .	67	8	3	78
Juliana (1—350) . .	54	—	2	56
Andreas (1—350) . .	62	2	2	66
Judith	90	24	—	114
B. of Maldon	104	12	—	116

² Thurneysen, *Revue Celtique*, Tome VI, p. 336.

To this latter influence we can ascribe such attempts at riming as are found in Christ (591—595), Elene (1237—1245). Such passages as these, and the Rime Song, the only O. E. poem in which rime is carried consistently through, stand apart from the development of sporadic rime, that reaches its height, during the O. E. period, in our poem, the Battle of Maldon and the Chronicle poem for 1036.

C. EXPANDED LINES.

The most distinctively metrical characteristic of our poem is the abundant use of 'Expanded Lines'. Among English scholars Guest has called them „Cædmon's longer rhythms“, and March „Long Narrative Verses“: German scholars use the terms „Streckverse“ and „Schwellverse“. The nearest English equivalent of the last has been chosen, as being the most significant.

Such lines are 'expanded' by prefixing to each hemistich a chief-stressed syllable, thus raising the number of chief stresses in each hemistich to three, and one or more either secondary or un-stressed syllables. In the first hemistich, this prefixed syllable should alliterate, but not in the second hemistich, in which the syllable having the chief-letter becomes the second chief-stressed, but remains the first, and only, rime-letter of the hemistich. These rules are violated in Judith at most three times. There are in all $65\frac{1}{2}$ ¹ expanded lines, consisting of 63 long lines and 5 hemistichs.

These three violations of rule are in first half-lines, and one of them is capable of another interpretation.

2^a in *ðȳs ginnan grunde* (cf. Beow. 168). Here the rime-letters are the initial sounds of the 2nd and 3rd stressed syllables if we read the line as above. There are two reasons for reading it so: — (1). The expanded lines in Judith, as elsewhere, are generally found in groups and the meaning here requires 2^a to be connected with the following lines. It is,

¹ 2—12; 16—21; 30—34; 54—61; 63—68; 88—95; 96^b—99; 132; 272, 273^a, 274^a; 289^b—291; 348—349, 350^b.

however, quite possible to begin the group with 2^b, as later in the poem groups of these lines are opened by 96^b, 289^b.

(2) If not an expanded line, but one with duosyllabic anacrusis, it stands quite alone in the poem, and is of a form but seldom¹ found in Beowulf.

9^a *gírwan úp swæsèndo*².

Here we have undoubtedly an expanded line with only one rime-letter, and that the first in the line.

90^a *geheáwen þysne mórdres bryttan* (cf. El. 163).

In this line, the one rime-letter is the initial of the second chief-stressed syllable.

The irregular form of these lines in the Cynewulf poems is remarkable³. None are to be found in Juliana, in Elene only fifteen, and in Christ thirty-seven, thirty six of which occur between l. 800 and the end, i. e. in the third part.

Of the 15 lines in Elene, three first hemistich have only one rime-letter; it is the initial of the second chief-stressed syllable, in ll. 163, 582 and of the first in l. 610. Frequent inaccuracies are to be noted in Christ in these lines. Thus:

First Hemistich: (a) One rime-letter: initial of the first chief-stressed syllable, 1305: initial of the second chief-stressed syllable, 1378, 1410. (b) Two rime-letters: initial of the second and third chief-stressed syllables, 922, 1050, 1360, 1496, 1666.

Second Hemistich. Chief letter, initial of the first chief-stressed syllable: 1163, 1425, 1515.

Sievers shows that the authors of Guthlac (especially in the first part) and Andreas were also not exact in the form of these lines.

What we have especially to notice here is that in the poem „The Dream of the Holy Rood“, in which out of a total of 156 verses, 34 expanded lines are found, only one shows deviation from the regular form.

¹ cf. Sievers, P. u. B. Bd. X p. 273 (Typus A).

² Luick groups under $\angle \times | \angle \angle \times \times$ i. e. *gírwan úp swæsendo*: scarcely a possible interpretation. Sievers groups it under Typus C or D. C would be $\angle \times \angle | \angle | \angle \times$, I therefore prefer D.

³ cf. Sievers, P. u. B. Bd. XII p. 454 ff.

In l. 40^b (*gestāh he on gealgan hēahne*) of the Rood poem, the chief letter occurs as initial of the first chief-stressed syllable. In view of the question as to the authorship of this poem, this discrepancy from the usage in poems certainly Cynewulf's is worth noticing.

Of poems containing expanded lines ¹ of the type found in Judith, the Later Genesis is thus excluded, the Gnostic verses from the Exeter Codex contain the most (68 out of a total of 206 i. e. about 33 per cent). Many of these closely resemble in form and length, those which characterise the Later Genesis. In the Dream of the Rood the expanded lines are somewhat more numerous than in Judith², but in form and use there are distinct resemblances.

In the formal arrangement of rime-letters, as we have seen, both poems are very correct, more so than any other poem containing a large number of expanded lines.

The majority³ of these lines, in each poem, are expansions of the simplest form of line found in O. E. poetry, what Sievers classes as Typus A; in each poem examples of expansion by prefixing a chief-stressed and three or more secondary-or unstressed syllables are found, but by no means as often as in the Gnostic verses. Examples of these in Judith are: 68^a, 96^b, 99^b, 345^b, and in „The Dream of the Holy Rood“: 21^b, 33^a, 48^a, 64^a, 66^b.

The longest forms here found do not occur in Beowulf, Genesis, or Exodus, but in Daniel, where expanded-lines are more numerous. Some few examples are also found in Christ, Andreas and Guthlac. With such small evidence at hand as

¹ cf. Sievers, P. u. B. Bd. XII p. 454. Number of expanded lines. Gn. Ex. 68; Rood 34; Judith 65½; Daniel 49; Christ 37; Genesis 31½; Guthlac A. 29 (these in order of proportion); Elene 15; Ælfred's Metra 12½; Beowulf 10; Guthlac B. 10; Exodus 6; Christ and Satan 4; Wanderer and Seafarer, each 6; Hymns 4; Phönix 2. (P. u. B. Bd. XII p. 455 there is a misprint — „Daniel: 59—106“ instead of Daniel 59, 106.)

² The Dream of the Rood: 34 out of 156, i. e. about 21½ per cent; Judith 65½ out of 350, i. e. about 18½ per cent.

³ The foll. are the only exceptions in Judith: 274^a (Typus C); 11^a, 17^a, 19^a, 20^a, 33^a, 65^a, 272^a, 342^a (Typus D); 338^a, 343^b (Typus E).

the O. E. poems give us in regard to these lines, it is difficult to speak of a tendency, but on the whole these lines seem to tend to become longer. The absence of such lines in the oldest parts of the *Beowulf*¹, and in a poem like the *Battle of Maldon* seems to point to the conclusion that they were foreign to the real English Folk-song. These songs were accompanied with music of the 'glœo-bēam', and thus, if the accompaniment were to be really harmonious, an occasional lengthening of the lines was impossible. In simple recitation, which was probably more used for religious poems², the expanded line would be introduced, but, as we have seen above, only occasionally, and not in its longer form. In the *Rood* poem and *Judith* the longer forms are scantily represented, in the *Gnomica* (Exon.) they are more numerous, in the lyrical poems, the *Seafarer*³ and, *Wanderer*, we find further examples, and, here and there, in the *Metra*.

In this tendency to lengthen, it is, of course, possible that the *Later Genesis* may have had some influence but it is scarcely demonstrable. A great many of the lines in the *Later Genesis* can be read with the normal number of chief stresses, but show a greater fullness in the use of unstressed syllables. The expansion of one half only of a long line occurs frequently, and, where the form requires three chief stresses, the rime-letters are, almost invariably⁴, correctly arranged. It is in this last particular that the form of expanded lines in the *Dream of the Holy Rood*, and in *Judith* is different from that in other poems, but at one with that in the *Later Genesis*.

¹ B. 1164—68 occurs in the portion describing the fight with Grendel's mother, and deals with the appearance of Waltheow. Ten Brink (*Beowulf*, p. 69) takes the majority of these lines to be later additions. He bases his argument on other than metrical grounds. 1706—1708 also form part of the Grendel's mother incident. B. 2996, 7 occur in Wiglaf's speech, in the fourth Adventure, that with the Dragon.

With the exception of l. 1168 the rime-letters in these lines are correctly arranged.

² cf. ten Brink, *Gesch. der eng. Litt.* Bd. I pp. 59, 60.

³ cf. *Seafarer*: 103^b; 106—109; *Wanderer* 112^a; 113^b; 115^b. *Metra* XVII, 11; XXVI, 79.

⁴ I have noted the foll. exceptions: 256^b, 322^a, 625^a.

There is no evidence that the Later Genesis was known to the author of the Rood poem or of Judith, there is in fact, as Cook points out (Introd. XX), an almost total lack of verbal correspondences between Judith and the Later Genesis. On the other hand, the number of correspondences with the earlier Genesis is considerable. This clearly points to the conclusion that our author knew the Genesis before the interpolation of ll. 235—851 took place¹, and so was not influenced by the portion that must have been written considerably later than A. D. 825, which is the 'terminus a quo' assigned by Sievers² to the Heliand.

Thus, the form of these verses does not give us any very definite result as to date; we can formulate it as follows: — The expanded lines in Judith are more numerous than in any of the certainly oldest poems, and many of them are of the longer type which is found, though only occasionally, in later poems.

There is yet another question that naturally arises here. What is the force of these long lines, or, is there any connection between the form and the subject-matter? The question in its second form must be answered in the affirmative, for, if we collect all the expanded lines in Judith, and read them apart from the normal verses that connect them, we find in them all the leading events of the story. Thus:

In ll. 2^a—7^a the key-note of the whole poem is struck by the depiction of the full trust in God, and the consequent 'hand-protection' (mundbyrd) afforded by him. In ll. 7^b—12^b the preparation for the feast is ordered and the heroes come. Next (16—21) comes the description of the feast and revelry, how Holofernes deluged (drenete) his nobles, and himself with wine³. These are the events by which

¹ Ten Brink (Gesch. der eng. Litt. Bd. I p. 108) gives the 10th century as the date of the interpolation, but the later Genesis itself seems to belong to the latter part of the 9th century.

² Sievers, Heliand, Einleitung XXXVIII.

³ In this our poet differs forcibly from his source. In the apocryphal book 'Judith', chap. XII, 10 we read „in quarto die Holofernes fecit coenam servis suis“. The somewhat vague „servis“ is given by

Judith's success is made possible. Holofernes is thus made the cause of his own destruction, as well as of that of his followers. In ll. 30—34 the culmination of the banquet in the death-like drunkenness of the officers and the approach of night are described. The last hemistich in this group tells us of the order of Holofernes, the man infected with iniquity (*nīða geblonden*), to fetch Judith. Then follows a pause in the action, till again (54—61, 63—68) the long lines occur, and tell of the fulfilment of the order to bring Judith to the tent, which was just indicated in the previous group. Here again (59—61) the presence of the controlling, guiding hand of the Lord of hosts (*dûgeða Waldend*) is emphasised¹. „The baleful one went his bed to seek; it was there he should lose his life, forthwith, within one night; he had there to await his end, his end on earth, no fair one“; — thus the poet dramatically shadows for us the approaching crisis, which, it should be noticed, stands almost exactly in the middle of our fragment, so that exposition and dénouement are of like lengths. This passage leaves Holofernes in drunken sleep, alone with Judith, and then (88—94^a) we hear the words of earnest prayer by Judith, in the heaviness of her soul (*hige geômor*), to the mighty Lord God (*mihtig Dryhten*). Help is granted her from heaven (94^a—95^b, 96^b, 97^a), and she, filled with new hope proceeds to her awful work (97^b—99)². Then (132) we learn of the departure of Judith and her maid. The

„ealle ða yldestan ðe gnas“, which includes all his chief officers. What is most noticeable is that, in the Apocryphal Judith, nothing is said about the drunkenness of the Officers, as making Judith's escape possible. There, the escape of Judith and her maid are made possible by the general leave she obtains to go out to pray; our poet makes their escape a possibility by the drunkenness. Chap. XIII, 2 „erant autem omnes fatigati a vino“ applies to the „servi“. Chap. XIII, 12 „Et exierunt duae, secundum consuetudinem suam, quasi ad orationem“ is the explanation of their escape.

¹ Immediately on this follows the defective l. 62. I am inclined to think it was originally a line of normal length, and formed a pause in the heated narrative. Of this more later, cf. p. 46.

² Especially noticeable is the use of lines of normal length to give the details of the murder.

next event of chief importance is the scene of confusion on the morning following the night of revel (272—274^a). The officers of the Assyrians gnash their teeth in wrath at the sudden surprise, and wish to rouse their ruler. „Here lies our chief, hewn with the sword, headless“ (289^b—290), are the final words of the one who dared to enter his lord's tent, and on them follows (290^b—291) the account of the confusion and flight. After this, comes the bringing home of spoil by the Hebrews, and the giving of earthly reward to Judith (338^a—342^a). For all this she praises the glorious Lord of Hosts, who bestowed honour on her because of her true faith (342^b—347^a). Finally the poets adds four lines in praise of the Creator of all. The rhyme pause in ll. 349^b, 350^a, which has been already noted (p. 31), is strengthened by the sudden change to the normal line. This sudden change emphasises and adds force to the concluding words — „through his own mercy“ (purh his sylfes miltse).

In these expanded lines then, lies the whole story, dramatically told, and doubtless intended to be delivered in recitative. The rest is Epic in its description of details, and has much the same functions as the chorus in a Greek tragedy.

In this Epic portion, (25—53) the fetching of Judith to the tent, and the tent itself, with the bed and its hangings, are described in full, so too (69—87) the approach of Holofernes and the seizing of the sword by Judith. The details of the murder, the return home, the wonderful description of the reception by the citizens of Bethulia, and the preparations for the fight, the fight itself, and its details are all related in verse that could be sung with musical accompaniment.

In no other poem are expanded lines used with such artistic effect and dramatic purpose. It is remarkable that with the exception of seven, all these lines¹ are in *Oratio Obliqua*; in most of the other poems the majority of the lines occurs in *Oratio Recta*. Two of the three passages in *Beowulf* are portions of speeches, so also the greater number of the

¹ Ll. 88—94^a; 289^b—291. The other passages in *Oratio Recta* are 83—88; 152^b—158^b; 177^a—198^b; 235—289^a.

lines in the Genesis¹, Christ and the Dream of the Holy Rood. Of this last, the greater part consists of what the poet heard the Holy Rood say to him in his dream, and here too expanded lines are used, to relate the main incidents of the story². Thus both in form and use we must acknowledge, in respect of expanded lines, a strong resemblance between Judith and the Dream of the Holy Rood. In Daniel too the use is similar. The expanded lines occur, for the most part, in the story of the casting of the youths into the fiery furnace, i. e. between l. 200 and l. 458. If with Balg³ we attribute ll. 280—410, and 422—27, which contain no expanded lines, to a later version and read the story without them, the whole becomes more powerful, and the effect of the longer verses approaches that in Judith. As far as vocabulary⁴, or phraseology⁵, is concerned, there is little in our poem to remind us of Daniel or of the Rood poem. Common characteristics in the use of expanded lines become, therefore, the more remarkable.

There is yet another characteristic common to our poem and the Dream of the Holy Rood, which is especially noticeable in expanded lines. The authors of both poems frequently close their sentences at the line-pause and begin new ones in the second hemistich with a finite verb. Examples of

¹ cf. Gen. 913, 1015—19, 1522—23, 2167—69, 2327, 2409, 2854—2858. Christ: 621, 1360, 1382—86, 1410, 1423—28, 1461^b, 1496, 1514.

² cf. 30—34; 39—43; 46—49; 59—65.

³ cf. Balg, *Der Dichter Caedmon und seine Werke*. Diss. Bonn 1882.

⁴ In common with Daniel, our poem (303) has the word 'herepad', not found elsewhere, and also (56) the word 'hearra' (herra). This last is a characteristic word of the Later Genesis, where it has its origin in the O. Sax. herro (cf. Heliand).

⁵ *Dream of the Holy Rood*, l. 20^b „Eall ic wæs mid sorgum gedrêfed“ and l. 59^a „Sære ic wæs mid sorgum gedrêfed“:

cf. *Judith*, l. 88^a „swýðe mit sorgum gedrêfed“.

Dream of the Holy Rood, ll. 79, 80^a „þæt ic bealuwara weorc gebiden hæbbe, sârra sorga“:

cf. *Judith*, ll. 181, 182^a „þe ûs mōnna mæst mōðra gefrēmede sârra sorga“.

this in the Dream of the Holy Rood are ll. 30, 33, 60, 61, 67; in Judith ll. 7, 34, 61, 67, 90, 253, 273.

In the expanded lines the line-pause must, of course, always be a syntactical one, as the chief-letter is the initial of the second chief stressed syllable. On the other hand the close of the line can be, and in Judith, with the two exceptions (2, 90) mentioned above, always is indicated by the appearance of a fresh rime-letter. Thus, while all the heavier syntactical pauses are found at the line-pause, our poet in tasteful variety uses 'enjambement', or a minor syntactical pause, at the close of the line. This last is occasioned by the introduction of an appositional phrase forming a hemistich (cf. ll. 16, 17; 19, 20; 57, 58; 60, 61).

The intensity of 'enjambement' does not vary so much as in modern English poetry, but is used with considerable skill by our poet. Twice he separates, by line-ending, attributes from their substantives, but both attributes and substantives alliterate. Thus ll. 55, 56 „ēdon dā stercedferde || hæled“; and ll. 91, 92 „nâhte ic þīnre¹ nâfre || miltse þon mārān þearfe“ | . The portions of sentences divided by the end of the line almost invariably fill hemistichs; only once (59)² is a minor syntactical pause noticeable within the first hemistich, and this is caused by the separation of an Infinitive from its finite verb, while the remainder of the hemistich is filled by an appositional phrase. Here too a special rhetorical effect is purposed and gained, the wish of the poet being to emphasise the controlling hand of the 'Judge of Glory'.

By these means the expanded lines, while gaining an effect different to the others, never burden or weary the ear. The author of the Dream of the Holy Rood occasionally uses 'enjambement' in this way, but burdens his lines by a too frequent use of syntactical pauses. The author of Daniel who

¹ The alliteration of 'þīnre' has been already noted (p. 21); it is peculiarly effective in this stirring prayer to God, and reminds us of the modern stressing of 'Thy', in „Thy will be done“ and of 'my' in „oh my luvē is like a red rose. A comparison of ll. 91, 92 with ll. 3, 4 shows how 'þīnre' corresponds exactly, in the poet's thought to „þæs hēhstan Dēman“.

² „Ne wolde þæt wuldres Dēma, geðāfian þrymmes Hyrde“.

rarely uses 'enjambement', and then with but little skill, does the same.

The result, that we thus obtain is, that of all poems in which the particular form of line, which we have been considering, occurs, it is used with the most artistic effect and purpose in *Judith*. In this our poem shows strong resemblances with that of the *Dream of the Holy Rood*.

From the considerations above, and from others which show our poem to belong to post *Cynewulfian* time, we may, with reasonable certainty, conclude that the *Dream of the Holy Rood* was known to our poet, and to a certain extent served as his model for the use of expanded lines.

D. METRICAL MISCELLANEA.

In the previous section we have treated with considerable fulness the form and use of the 'expanded lines'; there yet remain several points of importance, bearing especially on the lines of normal length, which were not elsewhere in place, and which for proportion's sake are best grouped together.

In connection with what we have said above on line-pause, and line-close in expanded lines, let us glance at our poet's usage in lines of the ordinary forms. Here, as the chief letter is the first chief-stressed in the second hemistich, he makes frequent use of alliteration alone to indicate line pause (cf. 24, 25, 26, 29, 35 etc.); in other cases (39, 69, 86, 101) the pause is marked both by syntactical form and by the rime-letter. Syntactical pauses are frequently only such as are caused by the introduction of an appositional phrase (cf. 101, 177, 279, 295, 321), but the heavier sentence-pauses also occur (cf. 195, 200, 225, 229). Where, by line-pause (159, 171), or by line-ending (173, 174; 278, 279; 293, 294), a substantive and its attribute are separated, both alliterate. The same pleasing variety, noticed in the expanded lines, is noticeable again in the ordinary ones. The heavier syntactical pauses occur both at the line-pause, and at the line ending. In the latter case, the poet almost invariably uses

'enjambement', thus never tiring the ear. He moreover counteracts the tendency to monotony to which his evident predilection¹ for writing groups of lines, of exactly the same type, might have led him. This kind of variety is much more effective than a continual variation in the type of line.

There are very few cases in which there can be any doubt as to the placing of the line-pause, or the line-ending, but these few must be noticed here.

Ettmüller, Sweet, Kluge, Cook print l. 49 thus: „mihte wlitan þurh, wigena baldor“ with the comma after 'þurh', thus pointing to the conclusion that the line-pause also falls after 'þurh'.

Luick² places the pause after 'wlitan', thus making both hemistichs of an unusual form and disregarding the custom of the poet. 'Þurh' is here adverbial, and modifies the verb 'wlitan' so that the syntactical pause falls after 'þurh'. Luick scans the second hemistich („þurh wigena baldor“) $\times | \underline{\times} \times | \underline{\times} \times$ i. e. a half-line of Typus A, with monosyllabic anacrusis, a form seldom certainly found in Beowulf³, and only twice (176^b, 258^a) in Judith, in neither of which cases is the first stressed syllable resolved. Again Luick scans the first hemistich („mihte wlitan“) thus: $\underline{\times} | \underline{\times} \times$ i. e. it belongs to Typus A, with alliteration only in the second stressed syllable. Of this there are at most six examples in Beowulf⁴, and no certain example in Judith. Luick gives l. 158^a as the only other example; this should surely be read 'þára læddā þe' | .

If we pause after 'þurh', the whole line may be scanned thus, according to Sievers' principles: $\times \times \underline{\times} \times \underline{\times} | \underline{\times} \times \underline{\times} \times$. The first hemistich, then, belongs to Typus B of which there are

¹ It is sufficient to note this here. Luick (P. u. B. Beiträge Bd. XI, p. 490) has collected the lines of similar types, and Cook (LXXI) emphasises the point, by remarking the occurrence of groups of lines containing the same rime-letter, and also of groups having only one alliterative syllable in the first hemistich.

² P. u. B. Beiträge Bd. XI, pp. 472, 480.

³ P. und B. Beiträge Bd. X, p. 234.

⁴ Ib. p. 284.

eleven¹ other examples, in Judith, exactly similar in form, and the second hemistich to Typus A; of which our poem has six examples².

The earlier editors differ from the later in the division of lines 99^b, 100^a: „teáh hyne folmum wið hyre weard || bysmerlîce“ is the division of Sweet, Kluge, and Cook, the hemistich 99^b being an expanded one: Thorpe and Ettmüller end line 99 after ‘folmum’, thus disregarding the law for ‘chief-letter’, and add the three following words to line 100. Both Sievers and Luick scan the line as the later editors print. Sievers, in agreement with Grein, inserts before ‘folmum’ the word ‘mid’ which is not found in the MS. It is however quite in accordance with the usage of our poet, as we shall later see, to use the simple Instrumental without ‘mid’. We must therefore read the line as printed by Sweet, Kluge and Cook.

About the division of ll. 87^b, 88^a; 184^b, 185^a; 317^b, 318^a, there can be no doubt on purely metrical grounds, and all the later editors are agreed³. From the scansion given below, it is clear that, in the first and third cases the lines would be too long, and, in the second, we should have a hemistich with only one chief-stressed syllable, if we read the lines as Thorpe and Ettmüller print them.

Luick has shown by his metrical analysis of Judith, on exactly the same lines as that of Beowulf by Sievers, that for the most part the two are in agreement. The chief difference lies, of course, in the use of expanded lines, but next to that the most general metrical characteristic of our poem as contrasted with Beowulf, is the absence of the more complicated metrical forms. In my interpretation of the

¹ 83, 110, 121, 151, 161, 171, 181, 204, 240, 260, 283. Cf. Luick.

² 62, 129, 148, 204, 299, 303. Cf. Luick.

³ 87^b and hīge geōmor, || swýðe mid sórgum gedréfed.
Thorpe and Ettmüller place line-end after swýðe.

184^b þæt hē mid læddum ús || ēglan mōste.
Thorpe divides after læddum.

317^b hýrsta scýne || bord and brād swýrd.
Thorpe and Ettmüller divide after bord.

expanded lines I have followed Sievers rather than Luick. According to the latter, the expansion in the second hemistich consists merely in the addition of unstressed syllables, while in the first hemistich an extra stressed syllable is added. As I differ from Luick in this respect, and also with regard to the place of the line-pause in l. 49, I find only two second hemistichs (176, 258) of typus A with anacrusis, and in both cases it is monosyllabic.

More noticeable than this variation, if variation it may be called, for the proportion of these lines in *Beowulf* and *Judith* is thus about the same, are the numerous cases in which our poet places a chief stress on what is usually a secondarily stressed syllable. Examples in the second hemistich are:

- | | | | |
|-----|-------------------|-----|-------------------|
| 73 | pâ wæs Nergendes. | 108 | slôh dâ eornoste. |
| 178 | on ðæs lādēstan. | 231 | slôgon eornoste. |
| 250 | hogedon āninga. | 283 | to ðām wiggendum. |
| 315 | on ðām lādēstan. | | |

And further in two lines containing proper names:

- | | | | |
|----|------------------------------|-----|----------------|
| 40 | pær hê Iûdith ¹ . | 218 | syððan Ebrēas. |
|----|------------------------------|-----|----------------|

Again, in the first hemistich: 334 purh Iûdithē (cf. 40).
Further.

- | | | | |
|-----|--------------------|-----|----------------|
| 127 | on ðām fætelse. | 172 | hyre pīnenne. |
| 143 | in ðām fæstenne. | 251 | hyra hlāforde. |
| 270 | ongunnon cohhetan. | | |

Thus in our poem this usage is more frequent in the second hemistich than in the first. Whereas in the whole *Beowulf*

¹ The nom. case of *Iudith* is invariably accented thus: Iûdith, cf. ll. 13, 123, 132, 144 (read Iûdith), 168, 256, 342.

About other proper names the metre and alliteration tells us: (1) that 'H' in 'Hóloférnus' is silent, and that it was so accented — cf. ll. 21, 46, 180 etc. (2) *Bêthûliam* (l. 138, 327), always forming an hemistich, is probably to be thus accented 'Bêthúlia', cf. *Béthánia* Chr. 456 (Rieger p. 55). (3) *Ássíría* cf. Gen. 232. (4) *Ebreisce* (241, 306) or rather *Ebrêsce* as in El. 559 (*weras Ebrêsce*) must be accented *Ebrêsce*: thus l. 241 and 306 will be of Sievers Typus E (*weras Ebrêsce: gûman Ebrêsce*).

there are only seven such second hemistichs, our poem in 350 lines has nine. In the Cynewulfian poems, I have noticed numerous examples both in the first and second hemistichs, but in the Battle of Maldon only one (71 äschere), and none at all in the Chronicle poems.

From the rarity in Beowulf of hemistichs of the form $\frac{L}{\cup} | \cup \cup \cup \times$, and the frequent occurrence of case-forms of the proper name 'Hygelac' in such lines, Sievers thinks to find an indication pointing to a Northumbrian original for the Beowulf epos. The fact that there are only three such hemistichs (180^b, 303^b, 316^a) in our poem, confirms ten Brink's conclusion¹ that their rarity is due to the natural prosody of the language, so that we can make no use of this test of Sievers.

Before closing the metrical part of this treatise, the lines which are metrically deficient must be considered:

62^a gâlferhð² gumena ðreäte.

The probability of this being properly a line of normal length has been already noted on p. 38; the form in which it is preserved in the MS., as well as the stylistic effect, make this probable. By the introduction of an ordinary line a pause is made in the sequence of expanded lines and thus the effect of the immediately following group is heightened. A similar pause is to be observed in l. 96^a. From observing the tendency to group lines with a like number of alliterative letters, Cook urges that here „at least one word, and that alliterative“, followed „gâlferhð“. As the lines immediately preceding and following are expanded, and therefore necessarily have two rime-letters in the first hemistich, this, in the light of line 96^a, is hardly necessary. An indication of the kind of word that has been lost is found, by observing other similar pas-

¹ cf. Beowulf, p. 215.

² Luick and Körner both adopt Grein's reading „gâlferhð cyning“, which is not very suitable.

James Mercer Garnett (Elene, Judith etc. Boston, 1869), in a foot-note to his translation, suggests „gûðfreca“.

sages in our poem. From two similar passages we can fairly conclude that an adjective has been lost, and, at the same time, it is certain that two adjectives connected by 'and' almost invariably alliterate¹. If we place the three passages together, the similarity is striking:

- 61^b Gewât dâ se deôfulcunda,
 gâlferhð gumena ðrêate².
 25 hû se stîdmôda styrmde and gylede,
 môdig and medugâl
 25^b and se gâlmoda,
 egesfull and âfor.

Arguing from these, an adjective, with an initial 'g' sound and with a signification like to that of 'gâlferhð', must be here supplied. The metre allows a word of one or two syllables. I therefore suggest that the line should be read as follows:

- 62 gâlferhð and grêdig gumena ðrêate.

'Grædig' = lat. cupidus i. e. wantonly greedy. From the manner of our poet, I believe that this, or an emendation of like nature, is to be made.

In l. 249^a „weras [wêrig-] fehrðe“, the prefixing of „wêrig“ by Grein, followed by Körner, is required by the metre and alliteration; at the same time it is suitable to the passage, and sanctioned by l. 291^b „gewitan him wêrigferhðe“.

Lines 287 and 288 present greater difficulties. Grein, Cook and Körner print as follows:

- 287 [nû] mid nîðum nêah gedrunge,
 þe wê [life] sculon losian sômod,
 æt sæcce forweorðan:

Here the main emendation is before 'sculon' as indicated by the MS., and 'life' seems to me the best hitherto suggested; but if we observe our poet's use of 'nû' in ll. 92, 186 it is hardly possible to think he wrote 'nû' in l. 287, thus making it a chief-stressed and alliterative word.

L. 906 in Guthlac [þurh nýdgedâl nêah geþrunge] suggests the following reading:

¹ cf. 107 „druncen and dolhwund“.

² Kluge (Lesebuch) prints thus „gâlferhð gumena ðrêate — —“ indicating that the defect is in the second hemistich.

286^b

þæt þære tide ys

mid nīdgedāl neāh gedrunge,
 þe wê life seulon losian sƿomod,
 æt sæcce forweorðan:¹

Here, as in Guthlac, 'nīdgedāl' would mean the departure of necessity, the death without escape.

Kluge's method of emendation is noteworthy for its simplicity, but, from Cook's MS. Collation, the defect seems to be between 'þe' and 'seulon', which Kluge, as other editors, fills with 'wê' and places 'nū' so as to bear the chief-letter. Kluge prints ll. 287 and 288 (ending at 'losian') as one expanded line, and with 'sƿomod' makes 289^a into an expanded hemistich. On this score it is difficult to judge, but my feeling is (p. 39) that „Hēr līð sweorde gehēawen“ ought to be the first words of the new series of expanded lines.

In l. 346^a 'ā' has undoubtedly fallen out, cf. l. 7^a. The results of each point raised in this section have been indicated in its progress, and the product of the whole part will be best given with the final conclusions.

In the first section of the next part (Language), dealing with Phonetics, there will be occasion, when considering syncopated, and unsyncopated forms, to refer to metrical principles; it seemed however consequent to group all points connected with phonetics together, and the more so, as the majority help us in the question relating to the Home of the Poet.

¹ It has approached near to the time, with death as a necessity, in which we shall lose life together, perish in the strife.

II. LANGUAGE.

A. PHONETICS.

The MS. of our poem (Cotton. Vitellius A. XV) is that in which the Beowulf is preserved. The Judith follows immediately on the conclusion of the Beowulf, being written by the same hand that wrote the latter part (l. 1939^b-end) of that poem. The orthography in the first and second parts of the MS. of the Beowulf is different in several respects, the most notable of which is the use of 'îo' in the second part, where 'eo' is found in the first.

Now 'îo' in place of 'eo' is found in no case in Judith, so it is clear, as ten Brink (Beowulf, p. 238) points out, that the orthography is not due to a peculiarity of the scribe, but to his copy. The second scribe of the Beowulf was, then, truer to his original than the first, and thus we may infer that he transcribed the Judith with a like fidelity. Our MS. is therefore a copy from a West Saxon original.

This however does not lead us far; we have yet to see whether there are forms in the MS. indicating that our poem was at some time transcribed into West Saxon, from an original in another dialect. Such forms there are; they are few in number, but all point to an Anglian original. They may be divided into two main groups:

1. DIALECTICAL VOWEL SOUNDS.

Of this group, the most important and significant form is the Anglian 'pêgon' (l. 19), of which the West Saxon form would be 'pægon'.

The mixture¹ of forms with and without 'breaking'

¹ Thus we find: -- aldre (120, 348), but ealdor (185), ealdre (76): waldend (5, 61), but gewealdan (103). Other examples of non-breaking are: -- alwalda (84), baldor (9, 32, 49, 339), and wald (206).

before 'l-combinations' is remarkable. Absence of 'breaking' before 'l-combinations' is Anglian for all periods, and becomes a distinctive Anglian characteristic towards the end of the O. E. period.

There is careful distinction, throughout the poem, between 'ea' and 'éo'; e. g. 'bearn' and 'beorn' are in no case confused. If the original had been Northumbrian, confusion might easily have taken place.

The forms 'hêhsta', l. 4 (but cf. hÿhsta, l. 309) and 'nêhsta', l. 73, although closely resembling the Anglian 'hêst' and 'nêst', are common in Late West Saxon, and cannot therefore be used as evidence of a Northern original¹.

2. SYNCOPATED AND UNSYNCOPATED FORMS.

Sievers (P. u. B. Beiträge, Bd. X, p. 459) has shown that, in all passages where a decision is possible, the metre in Beowulf requires the syncopation of all middle un-protected vowels after a long stem-syllable, and has pointed out that non-syncopation is a sign of lateness.

If this test be applied to our poem, we find again that mixture of forms and tendencies that has characterised our results hitherto. The majority of the unsyncopated forms² must be syncopated for the sake of the metre, but in two cases (229^a, 245^a) the full forms must be retained. In these two lines, the unsyncopated forms are different cases of the same compound, viz. 'medowêrige', 'medowêrigum' which in each case form a hemistich³. Similarly in the Battle of Maldon⁴ we find a mixture of syncopated and unsyncopated forms.

Of words with short stem-syllables, the MS. gives syncopated forms of 'ofstum' (10, 35, 70) where we should more correctly read 'ofestum'. Luick (P. u. B. Bd. XI, p. 491) reads 'gyfðe' (157^b), because it is unusual to have a hemistich

¹ cf. Cook p. XV.

² l. 35^a éadgan; l. 52^b môdga; ll. 98^b, 110^a hâðnan; ll. 160, 203 hâlge, hâlgan; l. 195^b êowre; l. 345^a wuldre.

³ cf. Exodus p. 50^a.

⁴ cf. ll. 57^a, 109^a.

of 'Typus C' with a resolved accented syllable in the second place only. This is of course insufficient ground for altering the MS. reading. Why does he not syncopate in line 138^b also?

As a further result of his thorough metrical and dialectical studies, Sievers has formulated the following rule regarding syncopated and unsyncopated forms of long — stemmed verbs belonging to the strong and first weak conjugation (Ind. Mood. 2nd and 3rd pers. sing.), and of past participles of weak verbs of the first class, having stems ending in dentals: — »alle gedichte, welche sich ausschliesslich der längeren formen bedienen, sind anglischen ursprungs, und umgekehrt weist das vorkommen einsilbiger formen mit sicherheit auf entstehung im süden (sächsisch oder kentisch) hin.«

There are but few verbs in the third person singular in Judith, but 'sêcēð' (96) is an example of an unsyncopated form.

Again, Sievers shows (p. 471) that the forms 'hæfst' and 'hæfd' only occur with other southern ones, while 'hafad' is the form used exclusively in the Anglian dialects.

'Hafad' occurs in Judith l. 197.

Anglian again are the past participles in ll. 87^a (onhâted), 116^a (gehæfted), 155^b (gecýðed), 167^b (ârêted). The last line is the only one in which a long form is actually required by the Metre, but the three others would become lines of rarer types if they were syncopated. There are no participles of certainly southern form.

We have then in our MS., though for the most part West Saxon, several forms that are distinctly characteristic of the Anglian dialects, and which therefore point to an Anglian home for the author of Judith.

3. USE OF 'a' AND 'q' BEFORE NASALS.

Möller¹, in his review of ten Brink's Beowulf studies, has laid considerable stress on the various uses of 'a' and 'q' before nasals, and has drawn wide-reaching conclusions from them.

¹ Englische Studien. Bd. XIII, p. 247.

It would take us too far beyond our subject to enquire what his results are and how far they are justified; the point demands our attention mainly because the writer of the latter part of the *Beowulf* in the Cotton MS. also wrote the *Judith*, and further because a simple statement of the use of 'a' and 'q' before nasals in *Judith* may help in deciding whether such use is arbitrary or not.

As Möller excludes 'pone, þonne', the adjective 'from' (occurs in comps. 41, 220, 302), and the preposition and prefix 'on', we shall do the same. The following arrangement on spaced lines, shows how 'a' and 'q' are grouped. The totals are 'a', 29, and 'q', 32.

{ 'a':	16,	26,	38,	54,	77,	80,	81,	98 (2).
{ 'q':	11,	13,	20,	34,	48,	52,	59,	77,
{ 'a':	101,	110,		132,		158,		172,
{ 'q':	105,	118,	130,	131,	145,	153,	163,	181.
{ 'a':	188,		198,	200,	205,	206,	211,	219,
							224,	225,
							226,	235,
{ 'q':	185,	192,	193,					
{ 'a':	238,		281,		326,			347.
{ 'q':	255,	265,	269,	282,	288,			
				292,	295,	304,	315,	330,
								331,
								333,
								342,

From this we see that for the first 193 lines, 'a' and 'o' are used in closely following lines, and almost alternately.

With l. 198 begins a group of lines in which 'a' is used exclusively; from l. 255 — l. 269 'q' is used, in l. 281 is a single case of 'a', while from l. 282 — l. 315 'q' is again used exclusively.

If *Judith* were dissected into small enough pieces, it would be possible to argue, as Möller does for *Beowulf*, that the scribe made use of an 'a' and an 'q' copy.

But there is no reason to believe in two copies, and when we observe that the same word¹ is spelt with 'a' and 'q' in lines not far distant from one another, it only seems reasonable to conclude that the variations are due to an

¹ Thus we find: mann (98, 101, 235), mœnn (52, 181, 292, 330): rand - (188), rœnd - (11, 20): hand (198), hœnd (130): land (226), lœnd (315): ðanc - (172), ðœnc - (13, 105, 131, 145, 153, 265, 331, 342).

unsettled orthography, just as are those between 'o' and 'u' in Mid. English.

B. ACCIDENCE AND SYNTAX.

1. PRONOMINAL FORMS.

Under this head the use of 'sê, sêo, þæt', and of the closely allied 'þis, þeos, þis' will first be dealt with, and then that of the possessive adjective-pronouns.

Lichtenheld's treatise¹, dealing with the use of the weak adjective, with and without a demonstrative prop, requires our careful attention, especially as Groth in his treatise on the O. E. Exodus (referred to on p. 3) has applied tests, drawn from Lichtenheld's results, not only very insufficiently, but, as we shall see, very inaccurately. Moreover, the very importance of the points raised by Lichtenheld makes them worthy of somewhat more careful consideration than Sarrazin² has given them, on either of the occasions he has seen fit to refer to them. Cook too, who writes (Intro. XXII) as if he knew Lichtenheld's tests only from Groth's application of them, comes to the conclusion that the article and instrumental tests lead to „directly contrary results“.

In relation to the demonstrative pronoun (sê, sêo, þæt), Lichtenheld shows that its original demonstrative force is preserved in Beowulf in almost every case, but that in course of time this force was weakened, gradually approximating to that of the somewhat meaningless 'the' in Mod. English, a

¹ Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum. Bd. XVI, p. 355 ff.

² Cf. P. u. B. Beiträge Bd. XI, p. 177 f. and ten Brink's answer in his Beowulf Studies (p. 173 f.). Sarrazin practically repeats himself in Anglia, Bd. IX, p. 531, though here there is a misprint to add to the mystery, 'starken' being written for 'schwachen'. He writes: „Wenn Lichtenheld versucht hat, das fehlen des artikels und häufige vorkommen des starken adjectivs ohne artikel beim substantiv als zeichen besonderer altertümlichkeit geltend zu machen, so ist dagegen einzuwenden, dass die älteste prosa den bestimmten artikel schon ebenso reichlich verwendet als die spätere, und reicher als die gleichzeitige dichtung“. A glance through a few pages of Ælfric's prose tells us this is not so. Cf. Cook, Intro. p. XXI.

natural result of this weakening being that the demonstrative pronoun, or the definite article as we now call it, became more and more used. Lichtenheld therefore argues that we can test the date of a poem by observing the usage of the definite article. In this connection he points out: — (a) The use of the article + weak adjective decreases, (b) The use of the weak adjective + substantive decreases, (c) The use of the article + weak adjective + substantive increases. It is clear that all these points must be taken into consideration, and further as the use of attributives depends on the style of a poet, and to some extent on his subject-matter, we must not be satisfied with a series of merely numerical statistics.

We shall now test Lichtenheld's results by applying them chiefly to Judith, and for the sake of comparison to some 350 lines of the First Adventure in Beowulf and to the Battle of Maldon. Further, by observing the cases in which our modern speech would use a definite article not found in Old English we shall be able to determine when an O. E. poet used or omitted it.

Let us first consider the cases of the adjective (weak or strong), used without a substantive, and with or without the definite article.

(a) Definite article + weak adjective: Of this combination Lichtenheld found in Beowulf 35 examples, in Genesis 28, and in Andreas 25; his investigation of these cases led him to the following results: — (1). The number of adjectives used in this combination is very small, and consists of such as are often used. (2). The combination is only applied to persons of importance, and the qualities indicated are of an honourable and lofty type.

Judith contains 23 examples, of which 16 are applied to Holofernes, 4 to Judith, 2 to God, and 1 to the wolf.¹ They are all in accord with the general principles laid down by Lichtenheld, but his exact rules require, as we should expect,

¹ *Holofernes*: ll. 20, 44, 68: 25: 28: 48, 100, 248: 52, 57, 61, 75, 76, 102, 256, 315. *Judith*: ll. 160, 171, 176, 256. *God*: ll. 7, 346. *Wolf*: l. 205.

to be expanded. Thus: — (1). The adjectives used in this combination are not limited to those of common occurrence¹, but include many that are rarely found; nor are they applied only to persons. In these respects the usage of our poet is at one with that of Cynewulf. (2). The adjectives indicate base as well as honourable and noble qualities.²

The number of examples in our poem is very large, and seems to contradict Lichtenheld's statement that the use of this combination diminishes. Relatively however it is quite true for our poem and serves to indicate its lateness. Thus, if we compare the number of examples of this combination with that of the combination 'Article + Weak Adjective + Substantive', we see at once that Lichtenheld's theory holds good. From this it is clear that these tests must be used very carefully, and not less so when comparison is drawn between our poem, the author of which loved to make his picture vivid with numerous attributes, and the Battle of Maldon³, in which attributes are very sparsely used.

We have yet to ask how this combination is used. From its nature, it must either closely follow or precede a substantival phrase or substantive indicating the person to whom the attribute is applied. Looking at the examples in Judith, we see that the majority are in the nominative case and stand in one of three places: (α) At the commencement of the sentence, immediately before the finite verb, and followed closely by an appositional phrase. This appositional phrase is invariably without an article, and either of the form 'strong adjective + substantive' (var. [strong adjective] + genitive + substantive)⁴ or 'strong adjective [+ strong adjective]'.⁵ (β) At the commencement and end of a complex sentence,

¹ Cf. Judith ll. 25 (sê stiðmôda), 28 (sê inwidda, see p. 72), 48 (sê bealofulla), 61 (sê deôfulcunda), 76 (se unsýfra).

² Cf. ll. 48, 61, 76.

³ The combination 'def. art. + wk. adj.' occurs only three times in the Battle of Maldon, viz. ll. 155, 187, 273.

⁴ Cf. ll. 20, 21 : 28, 30 : 57, 58. The superlative is also used thus in ll. 315, 316.

⁵ Cf. ll. 25, 26 : 61, 62 : 256, 257.

with an explanatory phrase, so to speak, sandwiched between them and in apposition to both. Thus, l. 48. „þæt sê bealofulla . . . wigena baldor . . nymða sê môdiga“, and similarly for oblique cases, l. 100. „þone bealofullan . . lâðne mannan . . ðæs unlæðan“. (γ) They stand alone at the beginning or end of a sentence, when it is absolutely clear from the context who is meant.¹ Of these (α) is the most common.

The article is invariably avoided in phrases standing in apposition to the combination, ‘article + weak adjective’. This is true alike for *Beowulf* and for our poem.

(b) Weak adjective alone: Examples of this are so few that Lichtenheld (p. 329) holds them for exceptions, or perhaps manuscript corruptions. The best explanation seems to be that the forms had really become substantives at the time we find them. In *Judith* there are three cases, viz. ‘ûrigfeðera’, ‘salowigpâda’, ‘hyrnednebbba’ in ll. 210, 211, 212, all of which are in apposition to ‘earn âtes georn’. It would have been contrary to the custom of our poet to have placed an article before any of those, no one of which has the first place in an appositional group.

He probably had in mind l. 29 of *Elene* „ûrigfeðera earn sang âhôf“ or the similar passage in *Genesis* (1983) „sang sê wanna fugel . . . deâwigfeðera“. I believe that such passages were more or less formulæ for battle scenes, that originated at a time when the original meaning of the weak form was still known and used with consciousness. A glance at the battle-scene in the *Battle of Brunanburh* confirms this view, as well as that advanced on p. with regard to the relations between that poem and *Judith*. In the *Battle of Brunanburh* the two words ‘salowigpâdan’ and ‘hyrnednebban’ occur in the weak form without articles, just as in *Judith*, and presumably in accordance with older usage. The poet of the *Battle of Brunanburh* seems to have formed the adjective ‘hasupâd’ on the analogy of ‘salowigpâd’, for it is not found elsewhere; but he used it as an adjective in the combination ‘article + weak adjective + substantive’, placing the

¹ Cf. ll. 160, 171, 176, 256.

others, as he found them in Judith, in apposition without articles and substantives.

(c) *Strong adjective used as a substantive*: Foremost under this head are the participles in '-end', which although found both in the strong and weak form, are in most cases treated as substantives and therefore declined in the strong form. Of the 16 examples in Judith of the substantival use of the participle, only one has the article prefixed to it. The portion of Beowulf examined by me also gives but one example, and in the Battle of Maldon there is not one. The use of the article with the participle is then avoided. The reason is not far to seek. The conceptions are almost invariably general ones, and we shall see, when considering the use of substantives with and without the article, that it is always omitted before those expressing general conceptions.

The following groups comprehend all cases: (α) When the general conception expressed by the present participle, is used without emphatic relation to particular persons, it stands without demonstrative adjunct or appositional phrase.¹ (β) When the general conception is used in emphatic relation to particular persons, it is expressed either by means of determining appositional phrases or less frequently by a demonstrative.²

We have already touched on a large group of adjectives used substantively as standing in apposition to the combination 'article + weak adjective'. Just in the same way, the majority of the others stand in apposition to substantives or pronouns, but never first in an appositional group.³ They are also used indefinitely, and very frequently with indefinite pronouns or substantives denoting multitude.⁴

¹ Cf. Judith, ll. 82, 226, 315.

² Cf. l. 11 'rondwiggende' which stands in apposition to 'hê' representing „ealle ða yldestan ðegnas“, and ll. 42, 69, 141, 159, 188, 226, 305, 312, 321. Examples with the article are rarer, thus in Judith only l. 283, in Beowulf ll. 9, 221.

³ Cf. ll. 11, 41, 98, 105, 131; and Beowulf ll. 195, 342, 376.

⁴ Cf. ll. 53, 199, 215, 225, 304.

Next we turn to consider the use of Substantives with qualifying words (adjectives or adjectival phrases) and with or without the definite article.

(a) Article + Weak Adjective + Substantive: Lichtenheld's results are so important that we must give them shortly. (1.) In every case the article form has either a weak or a strong demonstrative force. The latter is found in all the examples (21) in *Beowulf*, but the former, the weaker, is evident in *Genesis* (60 exx.) and in *Andreas* (30 exx.). (2.) As in the combination 'article + weak adjective', the number of adjectives is small, and consists of those that are often used. (3.) This combination is generally applied to persons, less generally to places and things, and the persons, places or things are of importance. The qualities signified by the adjectives are either such as belong naturally, or necessarily, to the persons or things, or such as lie as a matter of course in the meaning of the substantive to which they are applied. Such was probably the primary significance of the weak form for adjectives, which therefore originally had an independent existence. The article was then attached in order further to emphasise the weak form, and in course of time came to be regarded as a necessary prop to it, much as 'self' did to the personal pronoun when used reflexively. The examples in *Judith* are 29 in number and may be divided into the following groups: (α) Those with the adjective in the positive degree.¹ (β) Those with the adjective in one of the two degrees of comparison.² (γ) Those with adjectives which are always weak.³

Lichtenheld's results apply especially to the first of these groups. Reference to the lines quoted as examples shows that for the most part the pronoun has the weaker and later demonstrative force.

¹ *Judith*. ll. 35, 43, 55, 56, 58, 125, 137, 254, 260, 341. *Holofernes*. ll. 11, 98, 110. *Bethulia*. ll. 149, 203, 327. *God*. ll. 3, 347. *Holofernes' tent* ll. 43, 255. *Hell*. l. 121.

² *God* ll. 4, 94. *Thanes*. ll. 10, 242. *Holofernes*. ll. 178. Also ll. 4, 293, 309.

³ Cf. l. 12 (*p̃y fêrdan dôgor*).

Further it is very noticeable that all the expressions of this form are emphatic, and stand alone, giving the complete meaning without appositional phrases or extensions. This applies to all the examples in *Beowulf* (cf. ll. 713, 758, 813) and in *Judith*. In our poem these forms occur much more frequently than in *Beowulf*. Their rarity in the *Battle of Maldon* (there are but 3 cases: ll. 77, 151, 240) is due of course to the general scarcity of adjectival forms in the poem, and not to scarcity of article forms.

The combination 'article + genitive + substantive', where the 'article + substantive' agree, is used in *Judith*¹ with the same emphatic force as that of 'article + weak adjective + substantive', the genitive having adjectival functions, but is avoided in *Beowulf* and the *Battle of Maldon*.

(b) Strong adjective + Substantive and similar combinations: The examples in *Judith* (33 in number) may be divided into two classes. (1.) Those in the Nominative case, or in oblique cases not included in the second class.² All of these are used in apposition either to a substantive (128, 145 etc.), or to pronouns either expressed (17, 20, 135, 146 etc.) or contained in a preceding verb (55, 109, 148). (2.) Those governed by prepositions or adverbial phrases.³ These stand alone and denote time or place, thus — 161. 'ofer hëanne weall', 237 'ealle þrâge'.

In *Beowulf* and the *Battle of Maldon* the usage is a similar one, though somewhat freer in the first group, the combination being used not only in apposition, but also in sentences standing in very close connection with previous ones in which the substantive occurs.⁴

Closely allied to this combination in form and use are those of 'genitive + substantive' or 'adjective + genitive +

¹ cf. ll. 9, 32, 165, 254.

² cf. ll. 14, 17, 20, 55, 109, 128, 135, 145, 146, 148, 190, 198, 200, 207, etc. *Acc. case*: 72, 101, 246, 249, 265, 314, 334.

³ cf. ll. 28, 113, 156, 161.

⁴ *Beowulf*, ll. 219, 319, 725. *B. of Maldon*, ll. 4, 91, 98.

substantive'. They fall into the same two groups, and are used in exactly the same way¹.

(c) **Weak Adjective + Substantive**: The emphatic signification of the weak form of the adjective, together with the characteristic that the quality implied by it is one that naturally belongs to the substantive to which it is attached, has been already mentioned. But, to this combination Lichtenheld ascribes a wider use than to either of the other weak adjective combinations in *Beowulf* and in the oldest periods of the language. The combination, especially in phrases with prepositional or adverbial signification, seems to have become a formula, and thus, in later times, analogous phrases were formed without consideration of the original force of the weak adjective. This is illustrated (cf. *Zeitschrift f. d. A.* Bd. XVI p. 372 f.) chiefly by examples in the Instrumental case.

There is only one weak instrumental in *Judith*, that of an adjective in the comparative degree, viz. l. 80 'swīðran folme'. Of the two other examples in *Judith* of this combination, the adverbial phrase 'tô wīðan aldre' (80) is also found in *Andreas* (938, 1721)². The descriptive genitive 'lāðan cynnes' (310) seems to have been often used, being found in *Beowulf*, ll. 2008, 2354, and in *Genesis* l. 2548.

All these examples are in full accord with the theory propounded by Lichtenheld, but those in the *Battle of Maldon* are more difficult to explain. Lichtenheld explains the weak adjective in l. 319 'swâ leofan men' through the presence of 'swâ', and of the other in l. 125 'on fægean men' by the suggestion that it is an 'altertümlich feste' combination. Both of these are dative cases. In the *Battle of Maldon* the termination 'um' has in several instances been weakened to 'on'. Is it not possible that these weak forms are due to Hearne, on whose print of the poem we have to rely, having perhaps read 'an' instead of 'on'?

¹ cf. *Judith*, ll. 5, 12, 21, 22, 30, 39, 49, 58, 59, 61, 66, 78 etc. *Beowulf*, ll. 194, 229, 259, 260, 271, 312: (freer use) 195, 225, 235 etc.

² cf. *Beowulf*, l. 933, 'tô wīðan fēore'.

There still remains the third part of our investigation into the use of the article, viz. that dealing with Substantives found with and without the article.

(a) Article + substantive. Lichtenheld classifies the article according to its force as follows: — (1.) All cases, in which it is followed by a relative or other explanatory clause. (2.) Those cases, in which it simply serves to indicate that the substantive, to which it is attached, has been mentioned before. (3.) Those in which it is used without reference to a conception already mentioned.

All the articles found in the first thousand lines of *Beowulf*, except four specially discussed by Lichtenheld (p. 342), belong to the first two of these groups, i. e. to those in which the demonstrative force is still strong. In *Judith*, if we except the articles used in mentioning God (4), the Wolf the accompaniment of battle (205), and the articles combined with weak adjectives or superlatives (12 : 4, 293, 309), all those hitherto dealt with belong either to the first or second group, the majority to the latter.

We shall now discuss the cases in which the article stands alone with the substantive, and first those in which a relative or explanatory clause follows.

The demonstrative force of the article in such cases was originally strong, but tends to become weak.

Thus, we find the combination to be a rare one in *Beowulf*¹ but much more frequent in *Judith*², and more so still in the *Battle of Maldon*³. Under this head, we include the articles in the phrase 'þæt word æcwæð' (*Jud.* 82, 151, 283). This phrase is invariably followed by the words of the speech, whereas the Instrumental 'wordum æcwæð' without article is used (l. 241) where the action of speech only is reported. The same nice distinction is made in *Beowulf*⁴, but

¹ cf. ll. 197, 369, 506.

² cf. ll. 40, 47, 119, 127, 158, 283, 347.

³ cf. ll. 14, 48, 83, 104, 148, 168, 174, 182, 187, 189, 196, 212, 227, 235, 272, 325.

⁴ cf. ll. 388 („gesage him ðac wordum“) and 654, („þæt word æcwæð“).

not in the *Battle of Maldon*. In that poem the force of the demonstrative 'pæt' is less, and we find, the phrase „pæt word geewæð“ and no speech following. There are two other cases in *Judith*, which belong under this head, viz. ll. 106, 110¹ in which the article with an explanatory 'him' fulfils the function of the possessive adjective-pronoun.

An investigation of all the examples quoted shows that the article is attached to a substantive, with following relative or explanatory clause, only when the conception is a special one. In *Beowulf*, as we have seen, the combination is a rare one and is emphatic, while in *Judith* and the *Battle of Maldon* it is more common and less emphatic.

To the second group, in which the articles serve to indicate that the conceptions expressed by the substantives to which they are attached have already been expressed, belong the majority of the examples still remaining. It is noticeable that the combination 'article + substantive' is not applied to any of the three 'dramatis personæ' in their active capacity, but to *Holofernes* when dead or when something is mentioned as belonging to him. The examples contain: (α) Those that have been directly mentioned before: none of these are under prepositional government.² (β) Those that have only been implied: these are all under prepositional government and many of them might almost be classed in the third group.³ The articles in all of these examples have the same force as the article in ordinary usage in *Mod. English*. The abundance of the cases in the *Battle of Maldon* as compared with *Beowulf* and *Judith*, confirms *Lichten-*

¹ L. 106, 'þone swēoran him' and l. 110 'him pæt hēafod'.

² cf. ll. 258, 259 (*Holofernes*): 143, 175, 176, 208, 236, 276, 332 (citizens, warriors etc.): 47, 126, 173, 239: 233, 294 (cf. the general expression in l. 309). *Beowulf*: cf. ll. 311, 330, 586, 646, 647, 661, 712, 738, 766, 771, 792. *Battle of Maldon*: cf. ll. 9, 10, 22, 72, 88, 89, 111, 121, 134, 136, 137, 138, 140, 146, 148, 160, 193, 202, 245, 277, 284, 286, 325.

³ cf. ll. 15, 70, 152, 162, 167, 295, 320, 276, 336. *Beowulf* cf. l. 647. *Battle of Maldon*: cf. ll. 28, 40, 82, 131, 136, 142, 154, 159, 163, 193, 268, 277, 278, 298, 300, 322, 323.

held's results, while it is at one with all our other results in making Judith earlier than the Battle of Maldon.

The third group of the combination 'article + substantive', containing those articles that stand with substantives representing notions not mentioned previously, still remains to be dealt with. Such can hardly be said to occur in Beowulf at all (cf. p. 61); in Judith¹ there are only a few, but in the Battle of Maldon² the number amounts to eighteen. Both Judith and the Battle of Maldon are fragments, so the comparison is entirely reasonable. Here again, then, the contrast between our poem and the Battle of Maldon, with regard to the use of the article, is most marked.

The cases in which a Substantive stands without an article, where we should use one in Modern English, are very numerous, but fall into four main groups:

(1.) When large masses of people, large spaces etc. are spoken of, even though well defined, the article is omitted.

(2.) Substantives of like nature with those in the first group, when standing in appositional groups, are without the article: occasionally one of the group, and that the first, has the article.

(3.) The article is never used with pure Instrumentals, but very generally when 'mid' occurs.

(4.) Proper names, except when emphatic, stand without the article.

After this somewhat lengthy and difficult investigation it will be well to collect the results.

I. Particular results, i. e. relating especially to the poems investigated. The Judith differs from the Beowulf in the frequent use of the combinations 'article + weak adjective' and 'article + weak adjective + substantive'. The latter from being very uncommon in Beowulf, has become the most ordinary combination for the weak adjective. The

¹ cf. ll. 204, 236, 307, 346, in which the expressions all denote a fixed time. cf. also ll. 111, 141, 143, 220, all of which refer to some definite place.

² cf. ll. 6, 8(2), 10, 63, 69, 74, 78, 81, 95, 102, 104, 139, 144, 193, 194, 199, 284.

force of the article is not so strongly demonstrative in Judith, but for the most part the use of these combinations in both poems is the same. The difference between Beowulf and the Battle of Maldon in the use of the article is great, that between Judith and the Battle of Maldon is considerably less, but very significant. In the latter the combinations 'article + weak adjective' and 'article + weak adjective + substantive', as well as the important figure of apposition, which has played so large a part in our investigations, are almost entirely wanting. The weaker, non-demonstrative force of the article has largely increased.

II. General results, i. e. in relation to the use and nonuse of the article. A. Its use: of this there are three subdivisions. The full demonstrative use, with a relative or determining clause following, is the first. To this belong some few of the group 'article + weak adjective + substantive', also those of the group 'article + genitive + substantive'. None of these are used in appositional clauses. The majority of those that belong to this division are substantives without adjectival appendage, to which the poet wishes to draw the attention of his reader or listener.

The weaker demonstrative use is the second, where the article is used to indicate that the notion conveyed by the substantive, to which it is attached, has been previously mentioned. To this division belong:

(α) Those used in the combination 'article + weak adjective', which it must be remembered stands, for the most part, first in an appositional group, none of the other members of which have an article.

(β) The majority of the articles found in the combination 'article + weak adjective + substantive', which invariably stand without appositional phrases.

(γ) A large number of articles used in the combination 'preposition + article + substantive'.

When the article forms have no demonstrative force and are simply used to define, they serve mainly to distinguish particular from general notions. This is a late usage and is found especially in the Battle of Maldon.

B. Its non-use: The article is omitted (α) in all appositional groups, except when the first member of the group is of the form 'article + weak adj.' or 'article + pres. part.' or more rarely 'article + substantive'. (β) When large masses of people etc. are spoken of. The other cases are detailed on p. 63.

The use of the demonstrative 'þis, þeos, þis' affords little occasion for remark. It has a strong demonstrative force and the phrases in which it is used stand in their own sufficiency without appositional additions.¹ In order to give at a glance the numbers of the various combinations, the accompanying table² is added. The counting of the number of articles without reference to the way in which they are combined and used, leads to no useful results; in fact numerical statistics are only useful as necessary accompaniments of any such investigation as that we have just made.

The difference in the use of the possessive adjective-pronoun in Judith and in the Battle of Maldon yet remains to be noticed. In the former it is comparatively seldom used, in all 19 times, but in the latter it is very frequently used (34 times), and sometimes where we should expect the definite article. This also helps to account for the discrepancy in the total usage of the definite article in the two poems.

The variety of forms for the possessive adjective pronoun is of interest. In Judith 'his',³ 'sîn'⁴ and 'him' with the definite article are used without distinction.

¹ cf. Judith, ll. 2, 90: 66, 89, 187. Beowulf, l. 197. Battle of Maldon, ll. 32, 45, 52, 298, 316.

²	art. + wk. adj.	art. + wk. adj. + subst.	art. + subst. class.			Total	þis, þeos, þis
			1.	2.	3.		
Beowulf. (350 lines)	10	3	3	15	0	31	1
Judith	22	29	14	24	8	97	5
Battle of Maldon	3	3	18	43	20	87	5

³ cf. ll. 16, 31, 36, 63(2), 64, 68, 279, 281, 282, 350.

⁴ cf. ll. 29, 99, 132.

Originally the same distinction existed between 'sîn' and 'his' as between 'suus' and 'ejus'. In *Beowulf* 'sîn'¹ is only used where 'suus' could be; but 'his' is used to represent both 'suus' and 'ejus' and is more frequent. In *Elene* 'his' completely takes the place of 'sîn', which is seldom found in the other Cynewulfian poems.

We will now turn to a short consideration of the Instrumental case, especially in the light of Lichtenheld's results.

2. THE INSTRUMENTAL CASE.

Lichtenheld shows that when the combination 'adjective + substantive' occurs in the Instrumental Case, the weak form for the adjective is almost always found in *Beowulf* and very frequently in *Genesis* and *Andreas*. He adds further: — „Aus *Byrhtnoð* ist nicht ein einziges beispiel zu verzeichnen weder für die starke noch für die schwache form. Freilich umfasst das Gedicht nur 325 verse, aber es scheint doch, dass der instrumental hier überhaupt aufgegeben ist und die bedeutung desselben neben ihm überall vertretenden dativ besonders durch die präposition 'mid' umschrieben wird, die sich sehr oft in dem kurzen stücke findet. Aus den 195 versen der gedichte der Sachsenchronik gehört hierher nur der eine starke instrumental *Æthelst.* 34 'litlê weredê'.

In *Judith* there are only two instrumental cases of the form 'adjective + substantive' (ll. 80, 339); the first of these contains a weak adjective, ('swiðran folme', cf. p. 60) and the other a strong ('rêadum golde'). There are, in addition to these, 37 examples in *Judith* of the pure Instrumental case, and 12 of the Instrumental expressed by 'mid' with the dative. Thus, our poem combines the earlier and later usage in this respect also. On the other hand the *Battle of Maldon* has in the majority of cases the periphrastic Instrumental, almost confining the use of the pure Instrumental to the pleonastic 'wordum' or 'gylpwordum'.

In no respect then can Lichtenheld's tests be said to be at variance with one another, and when applied to our

¹ cf. ll. 1236, 1507, 1960, 1984, 2283, 2789.

poem, they lead to the same conclusions as our metrical investigations.

In both *Judith* and the *Battle of Maldon*, there is the older usage with a leaning towards the newer, but in our poem the older is more evident than in that describing the fight at Maldon.

III. DICTION AND STYLE.

The use of individual words, of phrases, of figures of speech and of the different kinds of sentences may be included under the term *Diction*. When these outward forms are in harmony with the subject matter of any work, we call that harmony style. How closely these two are connected becomes obvious in their consideration, and hence they are grouped together. The main points of enquiry in this section will be the following: — To what extent are the diction and style of our poem original, to what extent have they been suggested by the source¹ from which the story of *Judith* is drawn, or by other Old-English poets?

As in the metric of the O. E. poetry, alliteration was the most prominent and at the same time most characteristic feature, so in *Diction and Style* was the use of synonymous names and with that we shall therefore begin.

A. SYNONYMOUS NAMES.

THEIR USE — THEIR RELATION TO SIMILE — THEIR USE IN JUDITH.

By means of synonymous names the O. E. poets were able at the same time to meet the requirements of the alli-

¹ The source of the story in our poem is discussed in Appendix I, the results of which are given in our *Conclusions* p. 91. The cases in which nothing corresponding is found in the source will not be mentioned explicitly; absence of parallel quotation means that there is none to quote.

teration and to give vivid picturesqueness to their poems. It is usual to denote these synonymous names by the term 'Kenning', a term taken from the Old Norse metrists and meaning 'that which distinguishes or characterises'. While taking the place to a large extent of the personal pronouns, they bring the person or thing again vividly before us, by depicting some one trait or characteristic which in old time gave the listener a clear representation and which now lends a pleasing picturesqueness to the poems. These Synonyms are to a large extent metaphorical; their abundant use in different parts of a sentence, very frequently as Heinzel¹ points out at the beginning and end, is indicative of a certain restlessness in thought and tends to produce obscurity in narrative. This restlessness in thought accounts for the rare use of Simile, which is nothing but expanded metaphor. A simile lingers and exhausts all the minutiae of illustration and ornament, thus requiring the very reverse of restlessness.

The nearest approach to simile in Judith is found in l. 31: oferdrēncte his dugude ealle, swylce hîe wæron dēade
geslegene.

Thus our poem is in full accord with O. E. usage; the few similes found in O. E. poetry are very simple and lack the elaboration found in Homeric or Vergilian similes.²

Let us glance at the synonyms found in our poem with a view to solving the points of enquiry mentioned above.³

For God, there are 28 synonymous names, including two for the second and third persons of the Trinity and one for the Trinity itself. Bearn alwaldan, l. 84 (Son of the All-Ruler) is not found elsewhere. Parallel expressions are

¹ Über den Stil der altgerm. Poesie. Quellen und Forschungen Heft 10.

² Perhaps the finest in the whole range of O. E. poetry occurs in the Epilogue to Elene (1308):

„They (the repentant) shall be cleansed, freed from their sins, like smelted gold that in the flame from every spot, through fire of furnace is entirely cleansed, purified and melted“.

³ cf. Wilhelm Bode. Die Kenningar in der angelsäch. Dichtung. K. Schemann. Die Synonyma im Bêowulfsliede.

J. Jansen. Beiträge zur Synonymik u. s. w.

found in the Cynewulf poems, cf. 'bearn wealdendes' (Elene, ll. 391, 851: Juliana, l. 266) and 'sunu waldendes' (Christ, l. 635). No such expression occurs in Beowulf.

Frôfre gæst, l. 83 (Spirit of comfort). Our poem uses this in common with several Cynewulfian poems (Juliana, l. 724: Christ, l. 207: Guthlac, ll. 107, 908). For the Trinity our poet uses the term 'ðrynesse ðrym' found in the Cynewulfian poems (Elene, l. 177: Christ, l. 599: Andreas, l. 1687: Guthlac, l. 618).

There are six names for God the Father in Judith, that are not found in other O. E. poems. (1.) 'Arfæst cyning', l. 190 (graciously merciful king). The conception of 'God' as 'graciously merciful' seems to have been first clearly expressed in O. E. poetry by Cynewulf.¹ As we have seen (pp. 31, 39) God's mercy is the key-note of the whole poem, this is therefore of first importance in considering our poets terminology. (2.) Frymða waldend, l. 5 (Ruler of beginnings). It is remarkable that no such name occurs for God in Genesis, cf. however 'frymða god' (Jud. ll. 83, 189: Elene, l. 502: Guthlac, l. 792) and 'frymða scyppend' (Phoenix, l. 630).

(3.) Swegles weard, l. 80 (Guardian of heaven). 'Weard' is frequently applied to God in Cædmonian and Cynewulfian poems, but never in Beowulf. Parallel with this expression are 'swegles ealdor' (Jud. ll. 88, 124: Genesis, ll. 2540, 2807) and 'swegles âgend' (Christ, l. 543).

(4.) Pēoden gumena, l. 91 (Prince of men) is a remarkable instance of the transference of name from an earthly potentate to God. In l. 61 the same expression is used for Holofernes. In the Cynewulfian poems 'peoden' applies with one exception (Christ, l. 354) to Christ, but combined with 'rices' or 'engla' it is frequently used for God in Cædmonian poems.

(5.) Sê hêhsta dêma, ll. 4, 94 (the highest Judge). 'Dêma' as an appellative for God is very common in Cynewulfian poems², but is found only once in the Cædmonian poems (Gen. l. 2253).

¹ cf. Christ, ll. 244, 5 þîne miltse her ârfæst fyve.

² cf. Elene, l. 746: Christ, ll. 796, 837 and Guthlac, l. 755.

(6.) *Wuldres dêma*, l. 59 (The Judge of glory). Comparable with this are '*wuldres ealdor*' (Christ, l. 8) and '*wuldres âgend*' (Juliana, l. 223).

The remaining synonymous names for God in Judith fall into two main groups, the first of which contains the larger number.

I. Those found in Cynewulfian poems, and not in Beowulf or the Cædmonian poems. Examples are: '*Dugeða waldend*' (Jud. l. 61: Andreas, l. 248): '*Fæder on roderum*' (Jud. l. 5: Elene, l. 1151: Christ, l. 758): '*Tires brytta*' (Jud. l. 93: Christ, l. 462): '*Thrymmes hyrde*' (Jud. l. 60: Elene, ll. 348, 859: Juliana, l. 280): '*Swegles wuldor*' (Jud. l. 245: Christ, l. 110).

II. Those found in other beside Cynewulfian poems. Examples are: '*drihten-god*', '*mihtig drihten*', '*weroda drihten*', '*frêa ælmihtig*', '*metod*'¹, '*swegles alдор*'.

It is clear from the above that as far as the terminology for God is concerned, our poet is on a very different footing to the authors of the poems dealing with stories from the Old Testament. They followed the sources of their stories in this respect more fully. The author of Judith, quite independently of the apocryphal book '*Judith*' introduces a more strictly Christian terminology, herein showing a striking resemblance to poems certainly Cynewulf's as well as to others belonging to the Cynewulfian school.

Similarly the character of Judith, as drawn by our poet, is very different from that gathered from the Old Testament story. She stands before us as a Christian reminding us now and again of the lovable (*lœfflic*) yet war-famed (*beadurôf*) Elene, as Cynewulf paints her for us. There is in both a combination of firm unswayable resolve through which they gain their respective ends, with a loving tenderness towards those who are dear to them, reaching its height in the devotion to the God whose cause they both serve.

¹ This is the only name for God common to our poem and Exodus. The characteristic synonymous names found in Exodus (*ginfæst god*, *witig god*, *frumsceafta frêa*) are entirely wanting.

Judith is emphatically „the handmaid of the Lord“, a title given her by our poet in agreement with his original: „non promisit me Domini ancillam suam coinquinari“. The Lat. ancilla is also used to express her service to Holofernes: „ego enim ancilla tua Deum colo“ are her words to him.

Our poet uses three synonyms for her not elsewhere found, ‘Sceppendes mægð’ (78): ‘þeodnes mægð’ (165) (cf. þeodnes þegnas’ And. 3) and metodes meowle (261): through the same estimation of her devotion to God he calls her ‘seō hâlge’ (160) or without the article as in l. 98. Juliana is most frequently (315, 345, 567, 589, 607, 689, 696, 714) described as „seō hâlge“, but Elene never.

Other combinations with ‘hâlge’ are ‘seō hâlge meowle’ (56) and ‘seō hâlge mægð’ (260).

None of these are found in the original.

Judith is further described and named from her physical beauty: „ides ælfscīnu“ (14), „seō beorhte mægð“ (254), „wundenlocc“ (77, 103). The first of these is found twice in the older Genesis (1827, 2730), „ides ælfscīeno“ for Sara Abraham’s wife: of the others the last only is found elsewhere (viz. Rid. 26¹¹). The original has no exact correspondences. „Erat autem eleganti aspectu nimis“ (chap. VIII, 7): „cui etiam Dominus contulit splendorem“ (chap. X, 4): „qui cum vidissent eam, stupentes mirati sunt nimis pulchritudinem ejus“ (chap. X, 7) are the nearest. “Wundenlocc” is doubtless a reminiscence of “discriminavit crinem capitis sui”.

The other synonyms for Judith picture to us her nobility, bravery and wisdom¹. Noticeable among these, as being especially Cynewulfian, are: ‘ferðglēaw’, only found in Elene (327, 881); ‘searoðncol’, cf. Christ, l. 220, Andreas, l. 1163,

¹ *Nobility*: ‘þā torhte mægð’ (43): ‘seō æðele’ (256): cf. Elene, ll. 275, 662. *Bravery*: ‘Ides ellenrôf’ (109, 146): ‘ellenþriste and collenferhðe’ (133, 134). *Wisdom and mental qualities*: ‘glēaw on geðŋce’ (13): ‘ferðglēawe’ (41): cf. Elene, ll. 327, 881: ‘ðā snoteran idese’ (55): ‘searoðncol mægð’ (145): ‘seō glēawe’ (171): ‘glēawhðig’ (148): ‘eaðhrêdige’ (135).

and 'ædhrêdig', l. 135, reminding us of the descriptions both of Elene and Juliana.

In the same way when we turn to the synonymous names for Holofernes¹, we find striking resemblances with Cynewulfian poems, and comparatively few with Beowulf². This is the more remarkable when we remember the large number of names for 'warrior chief' found in Beowulf.²

The most marked resemblances with Cynewulfian poems are in the names which describe Holofernes as wicked, base and impure. Thus, we are reminded of the characteristics of Helisæus, as described in Juliana, by such names as 'gâlmôd' and 'gâlferth' (cf. Jul. ll. 531, 598) and 'feôndsceaða', 'womful' (cf. Jul. ll. 211, 671). Many others are identical with those used by Cynewulf for the Devil; exx. are 'wærloga' (Jud. l. 71: Jul. l. 455): 'bealoful' (Jud. l. 48: Christ, l. 259: 'womful' (Jud. l. 77: Christ, l. 1535: Elene, l. 761). Similar to 'Synna brytta' in Elene (958) is 'mordres brytta' in our poem (90).

Again if we take the synonymous names for warriors, retainers, men in general,³ in Judith, in which Beowulf and the Cædmonian poems are far richer than those of the Cynewulfian group, we find that the majority correspond with those used most frequently in Juliana, Christ and Elene.

¹ Cook's list is incomplete, he omits: 28. sê inwidda, 56. hearra, 98. hæðnan mannan, 179. laðestan hæðnes heaðorinces. 251. hlâford 254. sê beorna brego 259. ðone cumbolwigan.

² cf. 'goldgifa' l. 279 (Beow., l. 2652): 'goldwine gumena' l. 22, (Beow., ll. 1171, 1476: Elene, l. 201): 'since brytta' l. 30 (Beow., ll. 1923: Elene, l. 194).

³ *Warriors*: (a.) Found in Cynewulfian poems — 'folces ræswan' l. 12 (And., l. 1088): 'frumgâras' l. 178 (Jul. l. 685): 'scætend' l. 305 (Christ, l. 675: Beow., l. 703): 'byrn-wiggend' l. 17 (Elene, ll. 224, 235): gûð-freca l. 224 (Andreas, l. 1119): lind-wiggend, ll. 42, 298 (Elene, l. 270). (b.) Not found in Cynewulfian poems — 'lêoda ræswan' (Genesis, l. 1656): 'ealdordugud' (Genesis, l. 2081) rōnd-wiggend (Exod. l. 435).

Men, retainers etc.: (a.) Found in Cynewulfian poem — 'fira bearn', ll. 24, 33 (Christ, l. 242): 'hæleða bearn' l. 51 (Christ, l. 1278): 'mōnna cyn', l. 52 (Jul. 470): 'burhsittend' l. 159 (Christ, l. 337: Elene, l. 276: 'lōndbuende', ll. 226, 315 (Rid. 89¹¹): 'dryghtguman', l. 29

It is clear that there is the strongest resemblance between the synonymous names in Judith and those used in the Cynewulfian poems, even where, from the subject-matter of our poem, we should least expect it, as in the case of the many appellatives for God. With the older Genesis the next greatest number of correspondences has been noticed, but comparatively few with other members of the Cædmonian group. The almost entire absence of parallel quotations from the Vulgate, shows that, as far as synonymous names are concerned, the influence of the source of the story on the phraseology of our poem is hardly traceable.

How rich and picturesque the diction of our poem is, can be gathered from the examples above, or more quickly by a glance at the almost complete collection of 'kennings' in Cook's edition. In this richness our poem presents a strong contrast to the Battle of Maldon and the Chronicle poems, also to Christ and Satan, Salomo and Saturn, but reminds us by its variety of expression of the best work by Cynewulf.

Let us now consider the manner in which these synonymous names are used in Judith and at the same time glance at their relation to the meaning the poet wishes to convey. Taking those used for the three 'dramatis personæ' of the poem — God, Judith and Holofernes —, we can divide them in each case into two main groups.

Thus those which apply to God are either General or Particular, implying some special quality, similarly those for Judith express either *external qualities* or *qualities of heart and mind*, and those for Holofernes depict him either as *warrior-chief* or as one of *base moral character*. The prevailing custom of our poet is to use the synonymous names of the different groups alternately. Examples are numerous; let us take one or two for each of the three persons, and first of all those for God. The following are both examples of the

(Christ, l. 887). (b.) Not found in Cynewulfian poems — 'herbuende' l. 96 (Gen. l. 1079): 'burhleode' l. 175 (Sat. l. 561): 'ædelweardas' l. 321 (Beow. ll. 1702, 2210): 'sigefole' l. 152 (Beow. ll. 644): 'flettsittende' l. 19 (Beow. ll. 1788, 2022).

appositional means of strengthening expression: l. 123 „swâ hyre God ûde, swegles Ealdor“ and l. 154 “eow ys Metod bliðe, cyninga wuldor“.¹

The most striking example of gradual heightening by use of the various groups of synonymous names is seen in Judith's prayer (83—94). The construction is most varied: first, phrases are coupled together (Ic ðê frymða God and frôfre Gæst) next, asyndeton is used (Bearn Alwaldan), and then, at the end of the whole sentence in apposition to the first line and a half, we have ‘ðrýnesse ðrym’. The continuation is addressed to the united Godhead, and following quickly on one another we have „swegles Ealdor“, „þearlmôd þeoden gumena“, „mihtig Dryhten“, „torhtmôd tîres brytta“. The last two only stand in apposition; the others are constructed, within two lines of one other, in the short sentences in which this heartfelt prayer is presented. There is a similar variety in the use of the descriptive terms for Judith:

ll. 13, 14. „Judith . . glêaw on geðonce, ides ælfscînu“.

ll. 77, 78. „wundenlocc, Scyppendes mægð“.

l. 144. „Judith . . searðoncol mægð, ides ellenrof“.

And likewise for Holofernes:

l. 48 etc. „þæs folctogan, se bealofulla,
wigena baldor.

l. 21. „Holofernus, goldwine gumena“.

l. 38. „ealdor . . byrnwigena brego“.

By this means we get a full grasp of the various sides of each of the characters before us. Occasionally it is to the poet's purpose to emphasise only one side of the character: thus, in the description of the murder, only the baseness of the Assyrian leader is brought to our notice:

l. 98. ‘þone hæðnan mannan, þone bealofullan, lâðne mannan, ðæs unlæðan’ are all heaped together in four and a half lines.

Similarly in the order given by Holofernes to fetch Judith, the poet desires to keep the high conception of his heroine

¹ cf. Judith, ll. 80, 81: 189, 190: 300, 301.

before us and describes her: — ‘pā ēadigan mægð’, ‘ferðglēawe’, ‘pā torhtan mægð’.

In passages where a person is of secondary importance, our poet uses the personal pronoun and to a much greater extent than Cynewulf does in such cases. Thus, from l. 1—6 Judith is constantly mentioned, but always as ‘hēo’, for God is the actor and to him our attention is directed.

Similarly the warrior who goes to wake Holofernes, is referred to throughout ten lines (275—285) by pronouns.

Accumulations of five, six and even more synonyms, as in *Elene* (259, 814), *Christ* (403, 160) and *Juliana* (345), do not occur in our poem. One of the results of this is the clearness of the narrative in *Judith*.

In the *Cynewulfian* poems, and most of all in *Andreas*, the progress of the story is often excessively hindered and obscured by the heaping of synonyms, and phrases giving variations, but not helping the development of the action.

In wealth and variety of Synonym, therefore, our poem compares favourably with the *Cynewulfian* and stands infinitely higher than the later historical poems, though in one particular, viz. the plentiful use of the personal pronoun, there is a certain similarity. These later poems are much simpler in their narrative than *Judith*, and at the same time less ornate and less picturesque.

In the *Battle of Maldon*, which is almost of the same length as *Judith*, *Byrhtnoð* is the hero; his death occurs later in the poem than that of Holofernes, yet in all there are but 20 synonyms¹ for him, and these of a very different type to the graphic names from which we get a complete picture of the Assyrian chief.

¹ *Title*: eorl : unforcūð eorl : Æþelrêdes eorl.

Lord: ealdor : þæs folces ealdor : frēa : ðēoden : hlāford : hearra :
winedryhten.

Warrior: bearn : fyrd-rinc : gūð-rinc : hār hilde-rinc.

Metaphorical: bæhgifa : sincgifa : hæleda hlō.

Adjectival: þone gōdan : his betera.

Relationship: Byrthelmes bearn.

Throughout our poet is original in making new combinations, forming phrases and compounds from words which were current for the most part in the vocabulary of Cynewulf and his school. It will be interesting to see whether an examination of the compounds, not included under this head, leads to similar results.

B. COMPOUNDS.

Judith is very rich in Compounds, many of which do not occur in any other poem and are for the greater part ἀπαξ λεγόμενα. We shall deal with these especially, quoting analogous forms when there are any. and in cases in which the component words are rare or only found in certain poems, or groups of poems, the names and line-numbers will be given.

æscplega, l. 217, cf. 'ægplega' l. 246. Compounds¹ of 'plega' are very numerous in Cynewulfian poems, but rare in the Cædmonian group and in Beowulf.

bûr-geteld, (57, 248, 276) is used to denote Holofernes' tent (Lat. tabernaculum Jud. XIV, 8), as also the rare word 'træf' (43, 255). 'Geteld' or 'teld' does not occur in other O. E. poem, and 'bur' but rarely (Beow., ll. 140, 1310, 2455 : Gen., l. 2386).

byrn-hqmas l. 192, cf. 'byrn-wiggend' l. 17 and Elene ll. 224, 235. 'Ham' or 'Hqm' is only found in two other compounds, viz. 'fyrd-ham' (Beow. l. 1504), 'goldhoma' (Elene, l. 992).

cqmp-wîg, l. 333. Other compounds are 'camp-wudu' (Elene, l. 51), 'camp-wæpen' (Rid. 21⁹).

¹ 'gûð-plega (Christ, l. 573 : Andreas, l. 1371 : B. of Maldon, l. 61). nið-plega (Andreas, l. 414) : secg-plega (Andreas, l. 1355) and sund-plega (Guthlac, l. 1308 : Phoenix, l. 111) : lind-plega (Beow., l. 1073) hand-plega (Gen., l. 2057 : Ex., l. 327) : gilp-plega (Ex, l. 240).

dolh-wund, l. 107. 'Dolh' is found only in Cynewulfian poems (Christ, ll. 1108, 1207: Rood, l. 46: Rid 57⁴) and cf. 'dolh-slege' (And., ll. 1246, 1477).

fæstengeat. The second element of the word is of rare occurrence (Jul. 401: Christ, ll. 251, 318, 576: Sat. l. 649).

flēoh-net, l. 47 is evidently a translation of the Latin 'conopeum' Judith X. v. 19 (Gk. *κωνοπεριον*).

gyst-ern, l. 40 seems formed by analogy with such compounds as 'care-ern' (And., El., Jul., Christ, Sat.), 'fold-ern' (Christ, l. 730: Gu. l. 1004), 'mold-ern' (And. l. 803: Rood, l. 65).

gâl-ferhð, l. 62 cf. 'gâl-môð' l. 256. These are both compounds of 'gal' (O. H. G. *geil*) lust. Compounds of 'ferhð' ('collen-ferhð', 'dreorig-ferhð') are very common in Cynewulfian poems. Similarly compounds of 'þoneol' (Jud. ll. 105, 342) are found in Andreas (341), Christ (220), Daniel (94).

gûð-sceorp, l. 329 = war-trappings, cf. 'guð-serûd, El. l. 258, 'gûð sear, Beow., ll. 215, 328 and And., l. 127.

The word is here used as the generalisation of 'helmas and hupseax, hâre byrnan' which is our poet's version of „pecores, jumenta et universi mobiles" (Jud. XV. v. 8).

gyte-sâtl, l. 22 = joy at wine pouring. „Dâ weard Holofernus, goldwine gumena, on gytesâlum; hlôh and hlýdde, hlyned and dynede" is the vivid rendering given by our poet of „bibitque vinum multum nimis, quantum nunquam, biberat in vita sua".

hâufod-gerîm, l. 309 = the number of heads. Cf. the older compounds 'dôgor-gerîm' (Beow., l. 2728: El. l. 780). 'winter-gerîm' (Elene, l. 654).

helle-byrne, l. 116 = hell-fire. Cf. 'helle-bealu' (Christ, l. 1427): 'hel-cwalu' (Christ, 1190) and 'helle-clam' (Gen. l. 373).

hyht-wynn, l. 121 = joy of hope. „Ne þearf hê hopian nô, Þýstrum forðylmed þæt hê ðqnan môte of ðâm wyrmsele, ac ðær wunian sceal âwa tô aldre bûtan ende forð in ðâm heolstran hâm hyhtwynna lêas": the thought of this fine passage (117—121) as well as that of the immediately pre-

ceding, which describes the passage of the soul into Hell, is due entirely to our poet.

medowêrig, ll. 229, 245 = weary with mead („erant autem omnes fatigati a vino“ Jud. XIII. v. 2).

morgencolla, l. 245 = morning terror, being evidently a reminiscence of „Mox autem ut ortus est dies suspenderunt super muros caput Holofernus . . . quod videntes exploratores . . . ante ingressum cubiculi perstreptentes“. Cf. ‘morgensweg’ (Beow., l. 129) and morgen-spell’ (El., l. 970).

[*sige*]þûfas, l. 201 seems the almost certain reading, cf. *sige beacen*’ (El., l. 975). The word ‘þûf’ occurs only in *Elene* (123) and *Exodus* (158, 342) and originates from the Latin ‘tufa’.

slege-fêge, l. 247 = doomed to death. It is tautological, really expressing nothing more than ‘fæge’, and formed to suit the alliteration. The word ‘slege’ is found in numerous compounds in Cynewulfian poems only.

ðeod-guman, ll. 208, 332 = men of the people, hence ordinary soldiers. Cf. ‘þeod-mægen’ = exercitus (*Exod.* l. 342) and ‘þeod-land’ (*Christ*, l. 306: *Gen.* ll. 1766, 2211).

wælsceġ, l. 312. has not yet received any satisfactory explanation. I am inclined to agree with Cosijn¹ and read ‘wælstel’ a synonym for ‘wælstôw’. The meaning of the passage is strengthened by this emendation, thus ‘wælstel’ (the place of slaughter) gives the general picture and then ‘rêcende hrêw’ (the reeking bodies) makes it more vividly descriptive. Such a form is thoroughly characteristic of our poet. The passage might then be translated thus: „The royally brave ones turned, the warriors with their steps home-ward bent, there through the midst of the battle-field, through the reeking bodies“.

Such are the chief of the compounds not found elsewhere. To mention all the others (150 in all, cf. Cook’s list)

¹ cf. *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsche Taal- en Letterkunde*, 1881, p. 149: „Het is niets dan an slecht gelezen ‘wælstel’, beter ‘wælstel(l)’, een synoniem van ‘wælstôw’.

would be useless and would only increase the length of this section which has already become somewhat lexicographical in nature.

They have all been carefully examined and I will now detail the results: I. In richness and variety of compounds our poem is a remarkable contrast to the later historical poems. The Battle of Maldon, a fragment of the same length as Judith, has scarcely a third of the number of compounds found in our poem. Christ and Satan, Salomo and Saturn, are also poor in this respect, when compared with Judith.

II. The results of the previous section are confirmed both as to the relation of the diction of our poem to the source and to the strong resemblances between the vocabularies of our poet and Cynewulf. In respect also to the compounds found only in Judith, we have found them to be almost invariably parallel formations to compounds for similar conceptions, to make use of which Cynewulf or one of his school was the first and in many cases the only O. E. poet we know.

III. The compounds are frequently formed of words occurring only in Cynewulfian poems, and thus together with other evidence point to a date after Cynewulf for our poet.

IV. Finally the form of the compounds in Judith is almost exclusively paratactic. The tendency to use paratactic or non-analytic forms for compounds is greater in the Cynewulfian poems than in the older Genesis, and our poet seems to have gone even further in this direction.

C. SENTENCE-FORM AND FIGURES OF SPEECH.

Side by side with the tendency to group lines of similar metrical form, and with similar rime-letters, we have noticed (p. 42) the various means by which our poet contrives to indicate line-pause and line-ending. A like variety is noticeable in the sentence, so that at one time the clauses are

grouped together in simple appositional relation, and at another the chief and subordinate clauses are carefully connected by suitable conjunctions.

The appositional usage of synonymous names, as a means of connecting clauses, where we should rather expect conjunctions, is by no means uncommon. The appositional relation of sentences is very rare in our poem, especially when compared with the other poems dealing with biblical stories.

The connection of clauses by means of appositional synonymous names is used to indicate closely connected or quickly following actions, the actors being constantly kept before us from different points of view. Thus, l. 141 „*Wiggend sâton, weras wæccende wearde hœoldon*“, and l. 225 „*Hæled wæron yrre, landbûende lâðum cynne, stôpon styrmôde, stercedferhðe wrehton unsôfte ealdgeniðlan medowêrige; mundum brugdon scealcas of sceaðum scîrmæled swyrd eægum gecoste, slôgon eornoste Assiria ôretmærgas, niðhygende*“. Here we have a series of five finite verbs, all depicting the actions of the same men, but with each the actors are depicted to us from a different point of view, thus: — ‘heroes, dwellers in the land, the stern-souled ones, the stout of heart, the doers of service’; and at the same time their victims are pictured: — ‘the enemies of old, drowsy with mead, the chosen champions of the Assyrians, the men with hatred in their hearts’.

The most usual method of connecting sentences in our poem is by means of the little particle ‘pâ’. It is especially used in passages where the action of the piece is developed. Of this one example will suffice: — l. 53 — „*Hîe ða on reſte gebrôhton — eodon ða stercedferhðe — pâ wearð se brêma on môde — pôhte ða beorhtan idese*“. Occasionally ‘pær’ serves almost the same purpose as ‘pâ’ and hardly preserves its sense of place; once in (l. 2) we find the two combined „*ðær ða*“.

This use of ‘ðâ’ is noticeably frequent, much more so than in any of the Cynewulfian poems and even than in Andreas, where according to Fritzsche its use has reached „*eine fast erschreckende ausdehnung*“. The simple copulative ‘and’ is comparatively seldom used by our poet (130, 147,

151, 169, 174 etc.) for sentence connection, and the adverbative 'ac'¹ (60, 119, 183) still more seldom.

The clearness of the narrative in *Judith* is especially noticeable; this is achieved by the variety and force of the methods used for the connection of principal and subordinate clauses. Yet, withal, long periods are not indulged in. The most complicated construction used gives a compound sentence with three clauses, each dependent on the preceding, (cf. ll. 2—5: 342—346). The conjunctions *ôð*, *ôð þæt*, *nymde*, *syððan*, *ær*, *ær þon þe*, *þenden*, *swyle*, all in turn contribute to this clearness, but always in subordinate places, never bearing the alliteration or attracting undue notice, although frequently accented in the first hemistich².

In all these respects our poet stands much nearer to *Cynewulf* than to the authors of the other biblical poems. In clearness of narration he even excels *Cynewulf* who does not combine in such degree, epic and the dramatic qualities.

The same predilection for expressing same conception in different lights that shows itself in the accumulated use of substantival synonyms is noticeable also in adjectival, verbal and adverbial conceptions. Adjectival examples are — l. 26 *môdig* and *medugâl*: l. 257 '*egesfull* and *âfor*': l. 87 '*heorte onhâted* and *hige gêomor*, *swyðe mid sorgum gedrêfed*': l. 93 '*torne on môde*, *hâte on hrêðre mînum*': l. 115 '*witum gebunden*, *hearde gehæfted in hellebryne*'. These are all used most effectively to impress a conception, which is at the time of utmost importance.

The two examples (87, 93) out of *Judith's* prayer have a most stirring effect — '*my heart is heated, and my soul is heavy, with sorrows sore afflicted*'. In this as in all the others there is no tautology; each word or phrase expresses a conception nearly related to the others, but no two are the same. The similar verbal and adverbial expressions may be con-

¹ In line 209 'ac' has a distinctively continuative force.

² The careful distinction between the adverb 'syððan' (114), and the conjunction 'syððan' (160, 168) as regards alliteration and chief-stress is very noticeable.

sidered tautological: — thus l. 23. „hlôh and hlÿdde, hlynede and dynede“ affords an example of accumulation, in that the two pairs express different but related conceptions; and of tautology, for the two verbs in the first group, as the two in the second, have practically the same meaning; with this the similar substantive form is comparable „wornum and hêapum, ðrêatum and ðrymmum“. Like examples are found in l. 25 ‘styrnde and gylede’, and in l. 164 ‘prungon and urnon’.

Verbal tautology in sentences immediately following one another is not in the manner of the author of Judith. Cynewulf’s poems on the other hand afford plentiful examples of this usage. Of adverbial tautology our poem affords but one example (120) “âwa tô aldre bûtan ende forð”; an example of the cumulative adverbial use is (114) ‘syððan æfre’. For tautology our poet cannot be said to have a predilection, the examples above are few, and of the substantival form; in addition to the pair in ll. 163, 164, there is only one viz. l. 59 mid wîdle and mid wōmme“.

Closely related to these are the pleonastic and enumerating figures of speech. Pleonasm consists in the addition of a word or phrase containing the same conception as that to which it is added: its use is restricted in our poem to the formula „word âcwæð“ (82, 151, 283). This formula is common to all poems and in the Cynewulfian poems occurs in various forms: thus „word sprican“ Cri. l. 179: „wordum mældan“ El. ll. 351, 537.

It is from this pleonastic tendency that the usage of „cuman“ with another verb of motion has grown. We find „cuman“ thus constructed in the preterite tense followed by the infinitive of the other verb, e. g. Jud. l. 11. “cô mon to ðâm rîcan peôðne fêran folces râswn”: a similar construction with “eodon“ is found in l. 15 “sittan eodon“. This is the only example in our poem; the usage is comparatively rare in Cynewulf’s poems, but frequent both in Beowulf and in Andreas.

The figure of speech in which the various parts instead of the whole are enumerated is used in our poem, as in the other O. E. poems, for the various weapons and pieces of armour

that went to make a full equipment thus: ll. 191 ff. „berað linde forð bord for bréostum and byrnhoimas, scíre helmas in sceaðena gemong, fyllan folctogan fāgum sweordum”; so also l. 328 „helmas and hupseax, hāre byrnan, gūdsceorp gumena golde gefrætwood”; l. 338 „sweord and swātigne helm, swylce ēac sīde byrnan, gerēnode réadum golde”. Another example is in l. 17 „þær wæron *bollan* stæpe, boren æfter bencum gelōme, swylce ēac *būnan* and *orcas*”; here by the mention of the various sorts of cups, the variety and quantity of the wines is expressed. Such enumeration of parts, or of necessary accompaniments of a whole is but a form of ‘Synekdoche’, in which the whole is simply expressed by the mention of one single part. In his compounds and synonyms our poet makes plentiful use of this form. Thus, he describes ‘warriors’ as ‘randwiggende’ (11, 20), ‘lindwiggend’ (42); the conception of ‘march’ is ‘linde beran’ 191, battle is ‘æscplega’ or ‘ecgplega’ which last three may also be classed as ‘Euphemisms’. The O. E. poets loved this last figure especially for the expressions ‘to die’ or ‘death’, thus our poet (112) uses „gæst ellor hwearf” (the spirit fled elsewhere), a euphemism for ‘to die’, found otherwise only in *Beow.*, 155¹. Similarly ‘killed’ is expressed by ‘hilde gesæged’ (294) and ‘sweordum gehēawen’ (295) and ‘sweorde gehēawen’ (289).

The careful preparation that our poet, in really dramatic manner, makes for each of the leading events necessitates the repetition here and there of the same thought. This repetition is made either in the same words or words very similar.

This is nowhere so remarkable as at the beginning and end of our poem. It is evidently purposed, for according to the apocryphal book the words of Judith’s thanksgiving prayer should be given. The author of our poem tells us of her thanksgiving for the glory she attained through her firm belief in God, the thought with which he began. Thus we read l. 6^b „þa heo āhte trumne gelēafan ā to dām Ælmihtigan”, and 345^b „ðe heo āhte sōðne gelēafan ā to dām

¹ cf. „wende hine of worulde” (Elene, l. 440) and „his gæst onwende” (Elene, l. 479). In the *Cædmonian* poems, these phrases are nearly always turned either with ‘gewitan’ or ‘ofgiefan’, cf. *Gen.* ll. 1068, 1164.

Ælmihtigan", and in l. 346^b „ne tweode þæs lænes" reminding us of the first words „ne tweode gifena". The same device is used later on in the scene descriptive of the murder; thus the preparation for the deed is given l. 77 „*genam ðā wundenlocc*, . . . *scearpne mēce*", on that follows the prayer, and then (98^b) „*genam ðā þone hæðnan mannan* — —. *swā eadost mihte*, wel gewældan", which last is a partial repetition of l. 75 „*hū heō þone atolan eadost mihte ealdre benæman*". This epical repetition is used again to open each of the sentences telling of the blows dealt by Judith — thus (103) „*Slōh ðā wundenloce*". (108) „*slōh ðā eornoste*". Similarly each new series of the actions of the Hebrews is introduced by the word „*stōpon*" (200, 212, 227); by the same word the entrance and exit of the servants who fetch Judith is marked. (39 & 69). The prayer of Judith and her speech to the citizens are introduced by the words „and þæt word æcwæð" (82, 151), as also the speech of the warrior who ventured to enter Holofernes' tent (283). The manner of conduct that Judith recommends to the warriors in her speech (177—198) is echoed again in the account of the fight, in the mention of the weapons. Twice the hemistich '*fāgum sweordum*' (264, 302) recalls the line (194) „*fyllan foletogan fāgum sweordum*".

Again as Judith gives Holofernes' head to her maid, the words (126) „*þæs herewæðan hēafod*" occur, and are used again when the head is shown in Bethulia „*þæs herewæðan hēafod*". The joy of the citizens at the news, and at the return of Judith is introduced with similar expressions — (160) „*syððan hī gehyrdon*": 168 „*syððan hiē ongæton*".

Twice the terms applied to Holofernes are used for his slaughtered servants: — (180) *unlyfigendes*, (316) *unlyfigendum*, 289 *sweorde gehæwen*, 295 *sweordum gehæwen*. All these serve like motive airs to bring particular persons or subjects again to memory, and are as we have seen used with artistic purpose and effect.

Our poet has developed this form further than Cynewulf, who uses it mostly to introduce a speech, and generally the same form for the same person. In the Caedmonian poems it

is of still rarer occurrence and is for the most part confined to a single word.

Throughout we have seen how clear the narrative is, and this is further emphasised when we notice that the use of parallel sentences, in which the same thought is repeated in different form, is unknown to our poet in the sense in which it may be described as a characteristic both of the poets of the Caedmonian and Cynewulfian schools. In the same way and for the same reason parenthesis is avoided. In *Elene* parentheses are peculiarly frequent not only, as in *Beowulf*, in the simple form „þam wæs . . . nama”, but in longer periods occupying several lines¹. Antithesis, a figure of speech unknown in *Beowulf* and in the Caedmonian poems, but of frequent occurrence in those of the Cynewulfian group, is foreign to our poem. Of Metaphor and Simile enough has been said at the commencement of the section dealing with synonymous names. In conclusion, it is clear that, although stylistic similarities and correspondences in word and phrase with Cynewulfian poems are especially numerous, there are differences in style which place our poem in a different category to any of the older religious Epics.

CONCLUSIONS AND PROBABLE HISTORICAL CONNECTIONS.

Under this heading we shall arrange our material in the order of the five questions which are placed at the end of the Introduction. The shortest generalisation of the view, to which the various points discussed lead, is that our poem is a work essentially belonging to a transition time. While, with a few very noteworthy deviations, the more important metrical laws are closely observed, the less important are treated with a noticeable freedom, a freedom that in later times became licence. Combined with these characteristics is an

¹ cf. *Elene*, ll. 627, 773 etc.

artistic skill, scarcely excelled in any monument of O. E. poetry.

Looking more closely; the numerous correspondences with the Cynewulfian poems, and not least among these the conceptions of God and the general religious feeling, lead us to conclude that the Cynewulfian works were known to our poet. Among these Juliana and Elene seem to have distinctly influenced him in his representation of Judith; while the pictures given by Cynewulf of the Devil and of Helisæus are evidently present to the poet's mind in his depiction of Holofernes.

Again, the noticeably numerous and various correspondences, not only in word and phrase, but also in construction, mark Andreas as one of the poems with which our author was acquainted.

The expanded lines, so characteristic of Judith, and which our poet understood how to use more effectively and correctly than any other poet who wrote such lines, point to a Cynewulfian connection. Closest of all in this respect stands the Dream of the Holy Rood, with which he was almost certainly acquainted.

Add to these the various stylistic similarities, the arrangement of Synonyms, the manner of heaping epithets, the nature and use of Compounds, and we have sufficient evidence that the Cynewulfian poems were known to our author, as well as other O. E. poems which have influenced him in a lesser degree. But although the influence of Cynewulf and his school is so manifest, there are traits in our poem which show distinctly the work of a different hand and a different time.

Foremost among these is the clear, steady flow of narrative, which is the result of sentences carefully turned, with their subordinate and co-ordinate clauses fittingly connected by conjunctions; the result too of an avoidance of that exaggerated accumulation of synonymous names, or phrases giving variations, but not helping the action, which is especially characteristic of Andreas. The frequent use of pronouns, as well as the almost entire absence of the parallel sentence, a

form of pleonasm very common in Cædmonian and Cynewulfian poems, contribute, to this clearness. Our poet differs again from the Cynewulfian school in avoiding parenthesis and antithesis. The power of drawing a dramatic situation and working it out, which has so frequently come to our notice, does not characterise any previous O. E. poet to such an extent as it does the author of Judith.

Thus then, Judith was influenced by Cynewulf but is not by him nor by the author of any of the Cynewulfian poems.

A date later than that of the latest work by Cynewulf, certainly later than 800, must be assigned to Judith, but earlier than 991, the probable date of the Battle of Maldon. The result of every metrical investigation, the use of rime, the number and use of compounds and synonyms, the use of the pronominal forms ,sê, seô, pæt' as well as that of the Instrumental case point in the same direction. Much nearer in metrical exactness, and in nearly every particular stands the poem on the Battle of Brunanburh (937). Reasons for dating this poem later than Judith have been given on p. 56, and they can be strengthened by evidence that the poem itself affords. The number of words and phrases, even long enough to fill hemistichs, in this Chronicle-poem of 73 lines, which are either exact or very nearly exact repetitions from poems certainly older, is extraordinary¹. The words and phrases that occur are such as have lingered in the poet's memory, and are very probably used without consciousness of borrowing at all.

Between Judith and Brunanburh the correspondences are mostly in remarkable words and phrases; there is however a striking similarity in the battle scenes² in both poems.

There are other battle scenes in O. E. sacred poetry e. g. Gen. l. 1983 ff., Ex. l. 161 ff., El. l. 26 etc., l. 110 etc., and these show certain resemblances with each other and with Judith, but by no means so numerous or striking as

¹ There are 35 hemistichs found in earlier poems. See Appendix III.

² cf. Cook X, XI.

those between *Brunanburh* and *Judith*. In this light, the partial identity of lines in *Judith* and *Brunanburh* is of considerable importance.

Thus, the widest limits for our poem extend over a period of 137 years, namely 800—937.

Have we evidence that would reduce these limits further? The great age for the religious Epic in O. E. poetry ends probably with the year 825 or thereabouts, when the Northumbrian and Mercian kingdoms were torn with dissensions, until they were reduced (827) to subjection by Eggerht of Wessex. Our poem differs, as we have seen, in many important particulars from the religious Epics of the earlier time, it differs too, mainly in that it excels all three parts of the Christ and Satan, which ten Brink dates at the end of the ninth or beginning of the tenth century. In many details such as the use of rime, the frequent use of pronominal forms and the clear connection of sentences, our poem has indications of a time later than that ascribed to Christ and Satan.

There is moreover one significant word (*hopian*, l. 117)¹ that would further justify us in placing *Judith* at the end of the ninth or at the beginning of the following century. In the whole *Beowulf*, in the *Cædmonian* poems, as in the *Cynewulfian*, this word is unknown, the conception 'hope' being expressed by *hycgan* or *wēnan* and their respective parts. In the whole range of Old-English poetry, it is only found in *Judith* and in the *Metra* 7⁴⁴, which are attributed to Ælfred. Dietrich (*Haupt's Zeitschrift* Band 9, p. 216) in his article on the two words *hycgan* and *hopian* shows that the latter word was of rare occurrence and therefore little understood in the 10th century, for the title „*De Spe*” is explained by „*be hopan oððe be hyhte*”. King Ælfred uses „*hopian to*” and „*to hôpa*”, and Ælfric uses the three words *hycgan*, *hopian* and *wēnan*.

¹ On the origin of this word, Kluge says: „Für die Vorgeschichte ist die zugehörige Abstraktbildung angl. *hyht* Hoffnung bedeutsam, welche lehrt, dass germ. *hopôn* für **huquôn* steht (idg. Wz.).” The corresponding word in M. H. G. is not found at all frequently, till the second half of the 13th century.

'Hyegan' occurs three times in the *Battle of Maldon* (123, 128, 133), but 'hopian' not at all. The latter is absolutely unknown in the poetical portion of the version of the *Psalms*, but is frequently used in the prose portion¹. The poet of *Judith* uses 'hopian' and 'hogian' (250, 273), and this again points to a time of transition, which cannot well be before the end of the ninth century, as the history of this word shows.

Next we must remember that although our poem is for the most part preserved in West-Saxon dialect, there are in it distinct traces of Anglian forms which the transcriber probably overlooked. There is nothing characteristically Northumbrian in these, that is not also Mercian. Now, for the production of works of art in Literature, either times of good fortune and peace, or times full of the excitement of victory, after a period of depression, are the most favourable.

It was after the Peace of Wedmore (878), with its assurance of victory won, that Ælfred was able to begin his own literary activity and encourage it in others.

Which of the states — Northumbria or Mercia — rose from the humiliation of Danish rule, and stood at all events for a time with its own overlord and overlady practically independent of, though at one with the king of Wessex? By the conditions of peace which Ælfred made with Godrum, only a small portion of the former kingdom of Mercia was rescued from the Danes; the rest remained for a time a part of the Danelagh. Over this small portion of the former Mercia Ælfred placed Æpelred, who had married his sister Æthelflæd as under-king. For a time Mercia remained in peace under its new ruler, until 895 Hasting the Danish leader made a determined invasion, the brunt of which fell on Æpelred.

By well concerted action with the king, the Danes were defeated and the hopes of Mercia rose again. From this time on peace prevailed in Mercia. Northumbria on the contrary remained in the hands of the Danes till Edward in 924 deli-

¹ This difference is only one of many, tending to show the two portions to be of different ages.

vered it. History, then, indicates Mercia as the possible home for our poet at this time, and still more so when we take the following into account. After 895 Mercia had time and opportunity to husband her resources and strength. The death of Æthelred in 910 left Æthelflæd queen of Mercia, or as the Chronicle calls her 'Myrcena hlæfdige'. She was in the truest sense 'Lady of the Mercians', for through her extraordinary energy the 'Five Boroughs', formerly part of the Mercian kingdom, were recovered.

Æthelflæd then is Mercia's Judith, for she by no ordinary strategy, we are told, raised her kingdom and people to their old position. She, like the Hebrew Judith, abandoned the older strategy of raid and battle, not indeed to murder the Danish chief, but to build fortresses and beleaguer her enemies.¹ Æthelflæd, is then a suitable and worthy heroine to have stirred a contemporary poet to his theme. In this estimation of her we are confirmed by William of Malmesbury in his 'Gesta Regum Anglorum'. The passage² quoted below presents us with a picture readily suggesting a Judith: „pavor hostium“, 'immodici cordis foemina', 'virago potentissima', 'non mediocre momentum partium', all these are united with that eminently characteristic „favor civium“.

This suggestion would place our poem between

¹ cf. throughout: The Chronicle, Florence of Worcester, William of Malmesbury, Henry of Huntingdon.

² „Inter hæc non prætermittatur soror regis [sc. Edwardi] Ethelfleda Etheredi relicta, non mediocre momentum partium, favor civium, pavor hostium, immodici cordis foemina, quæ pro experta difficultate primi partus, vel potius unius, perpetuo viri complexum horruerit [var. horruit], protestans non convenire regis filiæ ut illi se voluptati inneceteret, quam tale incommodum post tempus urgeret. Virago potentissima multum fratrem consiliis juvare, in urbibus exsruendis non minus valere: non discernas potiore fortuna an virtute ut mulier viros domesticos protegeret, alienos terreret.“ Wilh. Malm. Gesta Reg. Angl. Lib. II. 125. (ed. Stubbs I, 186).

Lappenberg, Geschichte Englands vol. 1. p. 355, writes: „Die Tochter Ælfreds bewährte sich als die würdige Herrin Mercias und stand auch als Wittve dem Regiment ihres Landes so preiswürdig vor, dass ohne die Jungfrau-Königin sie in der Geschichte Englands unübertroffen, selbst unvergleichbar geblieben wäre.

the years 915 and 918 or soon after, during which period she obtained her greatest victories, dying in the last-named year.

Our other results agree admirably with this date. It leaves sufficient time for the West-Saxon author of *Brunanburh* to have become acquainted with the *Judith*. time too for it to be transcribed into West-Saxon form, and transcribed again at the end of the century in the MS. which we now possess.

The probability of this theory of course lies in the indications that the poem itself gives for a like date, but even apart from that it seems to me to have greater plausibility than the theory that would connect our poem with a child of twelve, who happened to bear the name of *Judith*.

The fourth question¹, viz. the relation of the story of the poem to its source, must next have our attention. The few points of difference between the *Septuagint* and *Vulgate* versions of *Judith*, given in Appendix I, point pretty clearly to the latter as the source of our poem.

All the main facts and several of the minor ones, such as the detailing of the two blows struck by *Judith*, the fetching of booty for thirty days (*ânes mondes*) have been preserved, as the Table (App. I) shows; but these have all been enriched with a detail, sometimes only suggested by the original, sometimes wholly wanting in it. There are however several deviations from its source, which tend to give our fragment that air of motived completeness which has been noted before.

In the very first scene *Judith* stands before us purer and holier than if, as in the original, she had been present at the feast ending in drunkenness and coarse revelry. Because of this deviation from his original, our poet is able, without offence, to draw a revolting picture of *Holofernes*, as he goads his warriors to drink, and drinks himself till he has no more sense in his cell of thought. The elaboration of the scene of revelry, together with the emphatic repetition (*'medowêrige'*) of

¹ Cf. Cook „Sources and Art“.

the state of Holofernes' followers, leaves the impression that it was owing to this drunkenness that escape was possible for Judith and her maid. There is no reference to the portions of the story that we should think must have been told in the first part of the poem, viz. the leave that was granted to Judith to go out to pray „nocte et ante lucem“. There is distinct reference to this in Chap. XIII, 12 of the Vulgate the first part of which chapter is otherwise pretty closely followed in our poem.

Again the entire omission of the conclusion of the episode telling of Achior (Vulg. XIII. 27 end: XIV. 6) is very noticeable. Indeed but for the numbering of the sections we should believe that at most a few lines at the beginning, perhaps only the lacuna in the first line, have to be supplied.

As already pointed out by Ebert (A. L. D. M. III. 26. Anm. 1), the opening lines have their exact counterpart in the lines that close the story of the poem, for ll. 347^b—350 form the thanksgiving of the poet, and thus the general impression of apparently motivated completeness is increased. To emphasise the point I quote the lines:

1. [ne] twēode gifena,
in ðæs ginnan grunde; heō ðar ða gearwe funde
mundbyrd æt ðam mæran þeodne, þa heō ahte mæste pearfe
hyldo þæs hēhstan Dēman, þæt hē hē wið þæs hēhstan brōgan
gefridode, frymða Waldend; hyre ðæs Fæder on roderum
torhtmod tīde gefremede, þe heō ahte trumne gelēafan
ā to ðam Ælmihtigan“.

Cf. with the above:

342^b “Ealles ðæs Jūdiþ sægde
wuldor weroda Dryhtne, þe hyre weorðmynde geaf,
mære on moldan rice, swylce eac mēde on heofonum,
sigorlēan in swegles wuldre þæs ðe heō ahte sōðne gelēafan
[ā] to ðam Ælmihtigan; hūru æt þām ende ne twēode
þæs leānes þe heō lange gyrnde“.

The 16th Chapter of the Vulgate has been shortened into the few lines telling of the thanksgiving of Judith, and thereby the proportions of the whole are preserved, and as we have seen an exact counterpart given to the opening lines. The

long prayer of thanksgiving, doubtless too subjective to please our poet, together with the dedication of the spoils in the temple of God, the visit to Jerusalem, the life and death of Judith might have been added. But her work was done, the work she had accomplished by divine help, and the poem ends, as it began, with praise and thanks, and the assurance of the divine help for all those who have true belief in God.

In this we see and understand the power of our poet; and in this consciousness of the completeness and beauty of our fragment, we feel that the eight or more Cantos that have probably been lost, especially if they only contained the story of the earlier part of the book Judith can be more easily spared than those that have been preserved.

Finally a few lines on the position of our poet in relation to other O. E. poets. Sufficient has been said of the high value of the work; it remains to point out that the poem stands alone, as the poem of a transition time in which epic and dramatic qualities are wonderfully combined. In this respect, as in language, in conceptions especially of the Deity, shortly in a diversity of ways, it stands apart from the so-called Cædmonian poems, and near as it is in many respects to the Cynewulfian poems it cannot be classed among them. It is one of the many poems of our earlier Literature, that not only every student should know, but also every man who has a care for his country's past.

APPENDICES.

I.

A. THE SOURCE OF THE STORY IN JUDITH.

The question of the source of our story is a tolerably simple one, resolving itself into an investigation of the differences between the Septuagint and Vulgate versions, with the view of tracing characteristics of one or the other in our poem.

That our poem more closely corresponds with the Vulgate version, is quite clear from comparison of the foll. passages:

Sep. XII.	Vulg. XII.	Poem.
10. καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ τετάρτῃ, ἐποίησεν Ὀλοφέρνης πότον τοῖς δούλοις αὐτοῦ μόνοις, καὶ οὐκ ἐκάλεσεν εἰς τὴν χοῦρην οὐδένα τῶν πρὸς ταῖς χερμαῖς.	10. Et factum est in quarto die H. fecit coenam servis suis.	7—12. -girwan up swāsen- do; tō dām hêt . . . ealle dā yldestan ðegnas — þæt wæs þy fêorðan dôgor.
XIII.	XIII.	
1. Ως δὲ ὀψία ἐγένετο, ... ἦσαν γὰρ πάντες κεκοπωμένοι, διὰ τὸ ἐπὶ πλεῖον γερονέναι τὸν πότον.	1. 2. Ut autem sero factum est . . . erant autem omnes fatigati a vino.	34. ôð þæt — neâlêhte niht sêð þýstre 29. dryhtguman sîne drēncte mid wīne. 229. medowêrig.
XIII.	XIII.	
3. ἦν γὰρ περιεχυμένος αὐτῷ ὁ αἶνός.	4. H. jacebat in lecto, nimiâ ebrietate sopi- tus.	67. Gefêol dā wine swa druncen.
XIII.	XIII.	
6. [there is no mention of the unsheathing]	8, 9. Et pugionem ejus . . . exolvit, cumque eva- ginasset.	78. and of scēade abræd.

Compare also Septuag. XIV. 12, 13, 14, 15 und Vulgate XIV. 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, also Septuag. XV. 11 and Vulg. XV. 13, 14 with the poem l. 242 onwards and ll. 324, 335—341 respectively.

B. RELATION OF THE STORY IN THE POEM TO THAT IN THE APOCRYPHAL BOOK 'JUDITH'.

The object is to show at a glance how the poet used his source. The order of the Apocryphal book is therefore followed: words and phrases are printed either in black type or italics according as they are exact or free renderings of each other in the respective languages. Square brackets indicate different facts.

Chap. & v. in Book J.	Text of Bk. Judith.	Corr. text in poem.	Line in p. Judith.
XII. 10.	Et factum est in quarto die H. fecit cœnam <i>servis suis</i>	Gefrægen ic ðā H. girwan up swāsendo; tō ðām hêt ealla ðā <i>yl- destan ðegnas</i> þæt wæs þý fêorðan dōgor.	7—12.
„ 10—19.	On this follows the sending for J. and the account of her part in the feast.		
„ 20.	<i>bibitque (H.) vinum multum nimis, quantum nunquam biberat in vita sua</i>	Dā wearð H., on <i>gytesālum</i>	21, 22.
XIII. 1.	Ut autem sero factum est, festinaverunt servi illius ad hospitia sua, et conclusit Vagao ostia cubiculi sui, et abiit	ôð þæt... <i>neūlāhte niht seō þýstre.</i> wiggend stopon út of þām inne	34. 70.
„ 2.	Erant autem omnes fati- gati à vino	dryghtguman sīne drenchte mid wīne,, ôð þæt hīe on swīman lāgon, oferdrenchte his duguðe ealle, swylce hīe wæron deāde ges- lēgene. Medowêrig	29—31. 229. 245.
„ 3.	eratque J. sola in <i>cubiculo</i> .	seo hālge mēowle gebrōht on his <i>būrgetelde</i>	56, 57.
„ 4.	H. jacebat in lecto, nimiā ebrietate sopitus.	Gefêol ðā wine swa drun- cen.	67.
„ 6, 7.	Stetit J. <i>orans</i> dicens:	Ongan ðā <i>swegles</i> Weard be <i>naman nemnan</i> , and þæt word æcwæð	80, 82.
„ 7.	<i>Confirma me Domine</i> — et respice in hac hora ad opera <i>manuum mearum</i> “ cf. v. 9.	ic ðē frymða <i>God</i> nū.... ..forġif mē sigor...	83, 86, 88.

Chap. & v in Book J.	Text of Bk. Judith.	Corr. text in poem.	Line in p. Judith.
XIII. 8, 9.	Et <i>pugionem</i> ejus, . . <i>exolvit</i> , cumque <i>evaginasset</i> il- lum, apprehendit co- mam capitis ejus.	<i>Genam</i> dā, . . . <i>scearpne mēce</i> , .. and of scēaḡde ābsæd. <i>Genam</i> dā . . . fæste be feaxe sīnum, tēah hyne folmum.	77, 78, 79. 98, 99.
„ 10.	Et <i>percussit bis</i> in cervicem ejus, et <i>abscidit</i> caput ejus, et abstulit conopeum . . . [X. 19. conopeo, quod erat ex purpura, et auro, et sma- ragdo intextum].	<i>Slōh</i> dā þæt hēo <i>healfne</i> <i>forcearf</i> , þone swēoran him. <i>Slōh</i> dā.. <i>ōþre sīde</i> , þæt him þæt hēafod wand forð on dā flōre. Flēoh- net fæger	105, 106. 108, 111. 47.
„ 11.	Et tradidit caput H. <i>an-</i> <i>cillae suae</i> , et jussit ut mit- teret illud in peram suam	[þā seð.. gebrōhte þæs here- wāðan hēafod . . . on dām fætelse] hyre (<i>foregenga</i>) on hōnd āgeaf, . . hām tō berenne.	125, 26. 130, 31.
„ 12.	Et exierunt duae . . . et <i>transierunt castra</i> , . . ve- nerunt ad portam civi- tatis.	ēodon þā idese bā . . <i>ūt</i> of dām herige, ōð hiē . . gegān hēafdon tō dām wealgate.	132, 33. 140, 41.
„ 13.	Et dixit J. longe custo- dibus murorum:	And þā lungre hēt . .	147, 151.
„ 13.	Aperite portas, quoniam nobiscum est Deus qui ferit virtutem in Israël. Et fac- tum est.	hyre tōgēanes gān, . . . and hī . . . in forlētan þurh þæs wealles geat“	
„ 15.	At concurrerunt ad eam omnes, a minimo usque ad maximum.	Folo ōnette, . . . þrunгон and urnon, ealde ge gēonge.	
„ 17.	Dixit J.: “Laudate D. D. nostrum,	„Swā ēow getācnod hafað mih- tig	197, 8.
„ 18.	„et interfecit in manu mea hostem populi sui hac nocte“.	<i>Dryhten</i> þurh mine hand“	
„ 19.	[et proferens de pera caput H. ostendit illis], dicens: „Ecce caput H“.	[hēt . . hyre dīnenne . . . hēafod onwriðan, and hyt tō bēhðe æt ſwan þām burhleōdum] „Hēr gē magon .. hēafod starian“	171, 2, 3. 177, 9.
„ 20—31.	Hereon follows praise from the people, praise from Osias, and the continuation of the story of Achior.		

Chap. & v. in Book J.	Text of Bk. Judith.	Corr. text in poem.	Line in p. Judith.
XIV. 1.	Dixit autem J. — „Audite me fratres, suspendite caput hoc super muros nostros“.		
„ 2.	Et erit, cum exierit Sol, accipiat unusquisque arma sua, et exite cum impetu. Mox autem <i>ut ortus dies</i> .	.. [Nu ic byddan wylle, þæt gê recene eôw fȳsan tō gefeohte]: „berað linde forð“ <i>on ðā morgentīd</i>	187, 89. 191. 256.
„ 7.	Accipitque unusquisque vir arma sua, et egressi sunt cum grandi strepitu et ululatu.	þa wearð snūde gegearewod: stōpon cynerôfe:	199, 200.
„ 8.	Quod videntes exploratores, ad tabernaculum, H. concurrerunt.	[Hê wordum þæt þām yldestan ealdorþegnum wið þæs bealofullan bûrgeteldes .. þringan	242. 248, 50.
„ 9.	Hi, qui in tabernaculo erant, ... et ante ingressum cubi- culi perstreptentes, excitandi gratia, inquietudinem arte moliebantur, ut non ab excitantibus, seu a sonantibus H. evigilaret.	Hî ðā somod ealle ongunnon cohhetan, cirman hlāde.	
„ 10.	Nullus enim audebat .. in- trando aperire.	[þa wearð sīð and late sum tō ðām ārod þāra beadorinca], þæt hê in þæt bûrg- teld nīðheard nêðde.	275.
„ 11.	Sed cum venisset ejus duces ac tribuni		
„ 13.	Tunc ingressus Vagao cub. ejus:		
„ 14.	Videns cadaver absque capite H. in suo sanguine tabe- factum .. jacere super ter- ram, exclamavit voce magna cum fletu, et scidit vesti- menta sua“. Et dixit	funde ðā [on bedde] blācne licgan gāstes gēsne. ongan . . . teran .. his hrægl sōmod, and þæt word ācwæð	278. 280, 2.
„ 16.	„...ecce enim H. jacet in terra, et <i>caput ejus non est in illo</i> “.	„hêr līd sweorde gehēawen, beheāfdod healdend ūre.“	290.
	(XIII. 1. decollatum).		
„ 17.	Quod cum audissent .. timor et tremor cecidit super eos, et <i>turbati sunt animi eorum</i> .	Hî ðā hrēowigmōde	290.
„ 18.	Et factus est clamor incom- parabilis in medio ..	wurpon hyra wāpen of dūne	291.

Chap. & v. in Book J.	Text of Bk. Judith.	Corr. text in poem.	Line in p. Judith.
XV. 1.	Cumque omnis exercitus . . . audisset, fugit mens et consi- lium ab eis, et solo tremore et metu agitati, fugae præsi- dium sumunt.	gewitan . . on fleām sceacen	291.
„ 2.	.. evadere festinabant Heb- ræos, quos armatos super se venire audiebant.	Him mon feaht on lāst. Him on lāste fôr swêot Ebræa.	292. 298.
„ 3.	Videntes itaque filii Israël fugientes, secuti sunt illos.		
„ 6.	et persecuti sunt eos in ore gla- dii, quousque pervenirent ad extremum finium suorum.		
„ 7.	Reliqui autem, qui erant in B. ingressi sunt castra A. et prædum, quam fugientes A. reliquerant — abstulerunt. Hi vero, qui victores reversi sunt ad B. omnia quæ erant illorum attulerunt secum . .	Ða scô cnêoris eal, . . wâgon helmas and hupseax, hære byrnan etc.	323, 25.
„ 13.	Per dies autem triginta, vix collecta sunt spolia Ass. a populo Israël.	ânes mônðes fyrst	324.
„ 14.	Porro autem universa, quæ H. <i>peculiaria</i> fuisse probata sunt, dederunt J. in auro et argento, et vestibus, et gemmis, et omni supellectili, et tradita sunt illo a populo	Hî to mêde hyre . . H. sweord and swâtigne helm, swylce êac sîde byrnan, gerênode rêadum golde, and eal pæt se . . sinces âhte oððe <i>sundoryrfes</i> , beâga and be- orhtra mādma, hî pæt pære beorhtan idese âgêa fon	335—341.
XVI. 1.	Tum cantavit hoc Dom. J., dicens:	Ealles ðæs J. sægde wuldor weroda Dryhtne	343.

The rest of the 16th chap. consisting of the long thanks-
giving by Judith, the visit to Jerusalem, the dedication of
the weapons of H. in the Temple, the remainder of the life
and the death of Judith are not introduced into the poem.
Our poet has taken the bare facts, the elaboration is his
own.

II.

LIST OF WORDS (SIMPLE AND COMPOUND)
OCCURRING ONLY IN JUDITH.

(cf. words marked in Cook's Glossary.)

A. Compounds:

(a). **Substantives**: æseplega (217): būrgeteld (57, 248, 276): byrnholm (192): camp-wīg (333): cumbol-wiga (243, 259): eald-hettende (321): eegplega (246): fāsten-geat (162): flēohnet (47): gūðsceorp (329): gystern (40): gytesæl (22): hēafod-gerīm (309): helle-bryne (116): here-folc (234, 239): here-wæða (126, 173): hildeleôð (211): morgen-colla (245): [sige]-ðūf (201) (ðūf only Ex. 158, 342: El. 123): swyrd-geswing (240): wæl-stel? (313): wēa-gesīð (16): wīn-hāte (8): wuldor-blæd (156): wyrmsēle (119): Total 25.

(b). **Adjectives**: arod (275) — the quantity of the 'a' is uncertain, the metre requires it long, its probable connection with 'caru' would make it short —: deōful-cund (61): dolh-wund (107): ellenprīst (133): gāl-ferhð (62): gāl-môd (256): gearu-pancol (342): heolfrig (317): hēte-pancol (105): medowêrig (229, 245): scīrmæled (230): slege-fæge (247): styryn-môd (227): pearl-môd (66, 91): Total 14.

(c). **Verbs and other parts of speech**: be-æftan (adv. 112) — æftan is only found Brun. 63: be-hēafdian (290) the simple verb is not found: binnan (prep) — from 'be + innan': for-ceorfan (105) the simple verb is only found, Rood 66, Rid. 29⁴, Dan. 511, Ps. 73⁶; but cf. â-ceorfan Dan. 568, Ps. 88²⁰ and be-ceorfan Beow. 1590, 2138: ge-dyrsian (300): ofer-drēncan (31) — simple verb is found in Jud. 29, Ps. 59³, 68²², 106¹⁷: on-wriðan (173) — simple verb only in Gen. 1532, 1762. Total 7.

B. Uncompounded words: bolla (17): cohhettan (270): fætels (127) (dim. of fæt): gylan (25): læp (111) cf. Goth. Leib: tīð (6) = — Mod-Eng. tithe a tenth — a gift: ðinen (172). Total 7.

Cook marks the foll: ælfscīne (14) but cf. ælf-sciēne Gen. 1827, 2730: gūðfana read in Ex. 159: heolstor (121. adj.)

- Line. 6. hamera láfum cf. Rid. 67. hamera láfe.
- „ 8. from enēomægum cf. El. 688. for enēomagum.
- „ 14. on morgentīd Beow. 484, 518. cf. Jud. 236.
„on ðā morgentīd”.
- „ 14. mære tungol cf. Ph. 119. mærost tungla.
- „ 15. glād ofer grundas Beow. 2073. cf. the whole passage
in both poems. (cf. Beow. „siððan heofones
gim” cf. Brun. „siððan sunne up”).
- „ 16. êces dryhtnes Ph. 600. Men. 12.
- „ 18. gârum âgeted And. 1145.
- „ 21. andlange dag Beow. 2115: And. 819, 1276: Gu. 1251.
- „ 21. érodeystum El. 36.
- „ 25. heardes hondplegan cf. Gen. 2057 heardan hondplegan.
- „ 26. ofer eargeblond El. 239.
- „ 27. on lides bôsmes Gen. 1332, 1410: cf. Gen. 1306
on scipes bôsmes.
- „ 28. land gesôhton And. 268.
- „ 30. sweordum âswēfede Jud. 322 cf. Beow. 567 „sweotum
as.”.
- „ 32. þe geflêmed wearð Dan. 261.
- „ 33. nýde gebæded Met. 6¹⁴ (Edm. 9).
- „ 34. litte wereðe Gen. 2093.
- „ 36. on fealone flôð Beow. 1950 cf. And. 421, 1540.
- „ 36. feorh generede Dan. 234.
- „ 39. hâr hilderine Beow. 1307.
- „ 41. on folestede cf. Jud. on þam folestede. cf. 49
„on campstede”.
- „ 43. on wælstôwe (B. of Maldon 293).
- „ 44. gylpan ne þorfte cf. Gu. 210. gylpan ne þorfstan.
- „ 50. gumena gemôtes cf. Desc. into Hell. 2 „gumena gemôt”
cf. on wera gemôtes An. 650.
- „ 56. æwiscmôðe Gen. 896.
- „ 61. salowigpâdan cf. Jud. 211. „salowigpâda”.
- „ 61. and þone sweartan hrefn cf. Jud. 206
„and sê wanna hrefn”.
- „ 62. hyrnednebban cf. Jud. 212. hyrnenēbba.
- „ 64. wulf on wealde El. 28. cf. Jud. 206 „wulf in walde”.
- „ 68. sweordes ecgum Beow. 2961 (Brun. 4.)

Line. 68. þæs pe us secgað bêc. Gen. 227. cf. Cri. 785
 „us secgað bêc”.

„ 71. ofer bråde brimu Gen. 2192.

„ 72. wlance wigmīdas Manna Mōde 14.

B. Similar hemistichs.

„ 4. 42. æt sæcce geslōgon: beslagen æt sæcce
 cf. Gen. 2149 „æt hilde geslōh”: Jud. 289.

„ 6. heōwon heaðo linde cf. Jud. 384 „linde heōwon”.

„ 9. land ealgodon cf. „helm ealgodon” And. 10.

„ 10. hord and hāmas cf. Beow. 912 „hord and hleoburh”.

„ 13. secga swâtê cf. Gen. 986 „monnes swâtê”.

„ 15. godes condel beorht cf. Ph. 91. „godes condelle”
 cf. the whole passage in Ph. cf. æðele Phō. 93.

„ 17. sâh to setle, cf. And. 1250, 1306.

„ 20. wiges sæd cf. „beadurinea sæd” Rid. 62.

„ 31. unrīm heriges cf. Christ. 569 „folces unrīm”.

„ 34. tô lides stefne cf. And. 291 „of naean stefne”.

„ 38. com on his cýððe cf. Jud. 312 „becom to cýððe”.

„ 43. wundum forgrunden cf. gledum forgrunden
 Beow. 2335: bæle forgrunden Ph. 227.

„ 44. geonge æt gûðe cf. And. 1332 „gingran æt gûðe”
 Jud. 123. „Iûdith æt gûðe”.

„ 46. eald inwidda cf. Jud. 28 „se inwidda”.

„ 73. eard begeâton cf. Beow. 2249 „gode begeâton”.

Thus in a poem of 73 lines, there are 35 half-lines found in other poems, and 13 half-lines which closely resemble those in other poems.

In addition to these there are two passages closely resembling corresponding passages in other poems.

(1). The setting of sun cf. Phōnix 90. (2). Battle-scene cf. Jud. 205 and Elene, 27—30, 110—112.

C. The following poetical ἀπαξ λεγόμενα in Brunanburh are also noticeable:

ealdor-lang (3): heaðu-lind (6): ge-æðele (7): scip-flota (11): dennian (12): here-flȳman (12): mylen-scearp (24): cnear (35): nāgled-cnerrum (53): bil-gesliht (45): herelāf (47): cumbolgehnāst (49): gārmitting (50): wæpengewrixle (51):

wælfelda (51): hasupádan (62): æftan (63): gûð-hafoc (64):
ârhwat (73).

IV.

[Note to pp. 47, 48].

On pp. 47, 48 an emendation of l. 287 ff. has been suggested, which while suiting the meaning and metre of the line, does not in any way explain how the corruption of the text came about.

Prof. H. Frank Heath has however hit upon a most happy emendation, which satisfies all requirements. He points out that if the MS of which ours is a copy read 'mid nipe nipum', it would be easy for confusion to take place between the 'thorn' and the 'wên'. Moreover, as the initial letters 'ni' are identical, the combination of 'nipe' and 'nipum' to produce 'nipum' (or, as our scribe consistently uses 'ð' in the middle of a word, 'niðum') is one that a copyist would be very likely to make.



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